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Transactions for the year 1927

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Publication Number Thirty-four

OF THE

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Illinois State Historical Society

FOR THE YEAR 1927.

Twenty-eighth Annual Meeting of the Society, Springfield, Illinois, May 12 and 13, 1927.

Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library

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OFFICERS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY MAY, 1927-MAY, 1928

President.

DR. O. L. SCHMIDT.....Chicago

Vice Presidents.

GEORGE A. LAWRENCE.....Galesburg
L. Y. SHERMAN.....Springfield
RICHARD YATES.....Springfield
ENSLEY MOORE.....Jacksonville
*CHARLES L. CAPEN.....Bloomington
EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE.....New York City
GEN. JOHN MCAULEY PALMER.....Washington, D. C.

Board of Directors.

CHARLES H. RAMMELKAMP.....Jacksonville
GEORGE W. SMITH.....Carbondale
ANDREW RUSSEL.....Jacksonville
WALTER COLYER.....Albion
J. A. JAMES.....Evanston
*H. W. CLENDENIN.....Springfield
JOHN H. HAUBERG.....Rock Island
REV. IRA W. ALLEN.....LaGrange
LAURENCE M. LARSON.....Urbana
THEODORE CALVIN PEASE.....Urbana
HENRY J. PATTEN.....Evanston
LOGAN HAY.....Springfield
GEORGE C. DIXON.....Dixon
LINCOLN WELDON.....Bloomington
GEORGIA L. OSBORNE.....Springfield

Secretary-Treasurer.

MISS GEORGIA L. OSBORNE.....Springfield

Honorary Vice Presidents.

The Presidents of Local Historical Societies in Illinois.

*Deceased.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Following the practice of the Publication Committee in previous years, this volume includes, besides the official proceedings and the papers read at the last annual meeting, some essays and other matter contributed during the year. It is hoped that these "contributions to State History" may, in larger measure as the years go on, deserve their title, and form an increasingly valuable part of the Society's transactions. The contributions are intended to include the following kinds of material:

1. Hitherto unpublished letters and other documentary material. This part of the volume should supplement the more formal and extensive publication of official records in the Illinois Historical Collections, which are published by the trustees of the State Historical Library.

2. Papers of a reminiscent character. These should be selected with great care, for memories and reminiscences are at their best an uncertain basis for historical knowledge.

3. Historical essays or brief monographs, based upon the sources and containing genuine contributions to knowledge. Such papers should be accompanied by foot-notes indicating with precision the authorities upon which the papers are based. The use of new and original material and the care with which the authorities are cited, will be one of the main factors in determining the selection of papers for publication.

4. Bibliographies.

5. Occasional reprints of books, pamphlets or parts of books now out of print and not easily accessible.

Circular letters have been sent out from time to time urging the members of the Society to contribute such historical material, and appeals for it have been issued in the pages of the *Journal*. The committee desires to repeat and emphasize these requests.

It is the desire of the committee that this annual publication of the Society, supplement rather than parallel or rival, the distinctly official publications of the *State Historical Library*. In historical research, as in so many other fields, the best results are likely to be achieved through the co-operation of private initiative with public authority. It was to promote such co-operation and mutual undertaking that this Society was organized. Teachers of history, whether in schools or colleges, are especially urged to do their part in bringing to this publication the best results of local research and historical scholarship.

In conclusion it should be said that the views expressed in the various papers are those of their respective authors and not necessarily those of the committee. Nevertheless, the committee will be glad to receive such corrections of fact or such general criticism as may appear to be deserved.

CONSTITUTION OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ARTICLE I—NAME AND OBJECTS.

SECTION 1. The name of this Society shall be the Illinois State Historical Society.

§ 2. The objects for which it is formed are to excite and stimulate a general interest in the history of Illinois; to encourage historical research and investigation and secure its promulgation; to collect and preserve all forms of data in any way bearing upon the history of Illinois and its peoples.

ARTICLE II—OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY—THEIR ELECTION AND DUTIES

SECTION 1. The management of the affairs of this Society shall be vested in a board of fifteen directors of which Board the president of the society shall be ex-officio a member.

§ 2. There shall be a President and as many Vice Presidents, not less than three, as the Society may determine at the annual meetings. The Board of Directors, five of whom shall constitute a quorum, shall elect its own presiding officer, a secretary and treasurer, and shall have power to appoint from time to time such officers, agents and committees as they may deem advisable, and to remove the same at pleasure.

§ 3. The Directors shall be elected at the annual meetings and the mode of election shall be by ballot, unless by a vote of a majority of members present and entitled to vote, some other method may be adopted.

§ 4. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors diligently to promote the objects for which this Society has been formed and to this end they shall have power:

(1) To search out and preserve in permanent form for the use of the people of the State of Illinois, facts and data in the history of the State and of each county thereof, including the pre-historic periods and the history of the aboriginal inhabitants together with biographies of distinguished persons who have rendered services to the people of the State.

(2) To accumulate and preserve for like use, books, pamphlets, newspapers and documents bearing upon the foregoing topics.

(3) To publish from time to time for like uses its own transactions as well as such facts and documents bearing upon its objects as it may secure.

(4) To accumulate for like use such articles of historic interest as may bear upon the history of persons and places within the State.

(5) To receive by gift, grant, devise, bequest or purchase, books, prints, paintings, manuscripts, libraries, museums, moneys and other property, real or personal in aid of the above objects.

(6) They shall have general charge and control under the direction of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, of all property so received and hold the same for the uses aforesaid in accordance with an Act of the Legislature approved May 16, 1903, entitled "An Act to add a new section to an Act entitled an Act to establish the Illinois State Historical Library and to provide for its care and maintenance, and to make appropriations therefor," approved May 25, 1889, and in force July 1, 1889; they shall make and approve all contracts, audit all accounts and order their payment, and in general see to the carrying out of the orders of the Society. They may adopt by-laws not inconsistent with this Constitution, for the management of the affairs of the Society; they shall fix the times and places for their meetings; keep a record of their proceedings, and make report to the Society at its annual meeting.

§ 5. Vacancies in the Board of Directors may be filled by election by the remaining members, the persons so elected to continue in office until the next annual meeting.

§ 6. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society, and in case of his absence or inability to act, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in case neither president nor vice-president shall be in attendance, the Society may choose a president *pro-tempore.*

§ 7. The officers shall perform the duties usually devolving upon such offices, and such others as may from time to time be prescribed by the Society or the Board of Directors. The treasurer shall keep a strict account of all receipts and expenditures and pay out money from the treasury only as directed by the Board of Directors; he shall submit an annual report of the finance of the Society and such other matters as may be committed to his custody to the Board of Directors within such time prior to the annual meeting as they shall direct, and after auditing the same the said Board shall submit said report to the Society at its annual meeting.

ARTICLE III—MEMBERSHIP.

SECTION 1. The membership of this Society shall consist of five classes to-wit: Active, Life, Affiliated, Corresponding and Honorary.

§ 2. Any person may become an active member of this Society upon payment of such initiation fee not less than one dollar, as shall from time to time be prescribed by the Board of Directors.

§ 3. Any person entitled to be an active member may upon payment of twenty-five dollars be admitted as a life member with all the privileges of an active member and shall thereafter be exempt from annual dues.

§ 4. County and other historical societies, and other societies engaged in historical or archeological research or in the preservation of the knowledge of historic events, may upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors be admitted as affiliated members of this Society upon the same terms as to the payment of initiation fees and annual dues as active and life members. Every society so admitted shall be entitled to one duly accredited representative at each meeting of the Society who shall during the period of his appointment be entitled as such representative to all the privileges of an active member except that of being elected to office; but nothing herein shall prevent such representative becoming an active or life member upon like conditions as other persons.

§ 5. Persons not active nor life members but who are willing to lend their assistance and encouragement to the promotion of the objects of this Society, may, upon recommendation of the Board of Directors, be admitted as corresponding members.

§ 6. Honorary membership may be conferred at any meeting of the Society upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors upon persons who have distinguished themselves by eminent services or contributions to the cause of history.

§ 7. Honorary and corresponding members shall have the privilege of attending and participating in the meetings of the Society.

ARTICLE IV—MEETINGS AND QUORUM.

SECTION 1. There shall be an annual meeting of this Society for the election of officers, the hearing of reports, addresses and historical papers and the transaction of business at such time and place in the month of May in each year as may be designated by the Board of Directors, for which meeting it shall be the duty of said Board to prepare and publish a suitable program and procure the services of persons well versed in history to deliver addresses or read essays upon subjects germane to the objects of this organization.

§ 2. Special meetings of the Society may be called by the Board of Directors. Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the President or any two members of the Board.

§ 3. At any meeting of the Society the attendance of ten members entitled to vote shall be necessary to a quorum.

ARTICLE V—AMENDMENTS.

SECTION 1. The Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present and entitled to vote, at any annual meeting; Provided that the proposed amendment shall have first been submitted to the Board of Directors, and at least thirty days prior to such annual meeting notice of proposed action upon the same, sent by the Secretary to all members of the Society.

AN APPEAL TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC.

Objects of Collection Desired by the Illinois State Historical Library and Society.

(Members please read this Circular Letter.)

Books and pamphlets on American History, Biography, and Genealogy, particularly those relating to the West; works on Indian Tribes, and American Archaeology and Ethnology; Reports of Societies and Institutions of every kind, Educational, Economic, Social, Political, Co-operative, Fraternal, Statistical, Industrial, Charitable; Scientific Publications of States or Societies; Books or Pamphlets relating to the Great Rebellion, and the wars with the Indians; privately printed Works; Newspapers; Maps and Charts; Engravings; Photographs; Autographs; Coins; Antiquities; Encyclopedias, Dictionaries, and Bibliographical Works. Especially do we desire

EVERYTHING RELATING TO ILLINOIS.

1. Every book or pamphlet on any subject relating to Illinois, or any part of it; also every book or pamphlet written by an Illinois citizen, whether published in Illinois or elsewhere; Materials for Illinois History; Old Letters, Journals.

2. Manuscripts; Narratives of the Pioneers of Illinois; Original Papers on the Early History and Settlement of the Territory; Adventures and Conflicts during the early settlement, the Indian troubles, or the War of the Rebellion or other wars; Biographies of the Pioneers, prominent citizens and public men of every County either living or deceased, together with their portraits and autographs; a sketch of the settlement of every Township, Village, and Neighborhood in the State, with the names of the first settlers. We solicit articles on every subject connected with Illinois History.

3. City Ordinances, proceedings of Mayor and Council; Reports of Committees of Council; Pamphlets or Papers of any kind printed by authority of the City; Reports of Boards of Trade; Maps of cities and Plats of town sites or of additions thereto.

4. Pamphlets of all kinds; Annual Reports of Societies; Sermons and Addresses delivered in the State; Minutes of Church Conventions, Synods, or other Ecclesiastical Bodies of Illinois; Political Addresses; Railroad Reports; all such, whether published in pamphlet or newspaper.

5. Catalogues and reports of Colleges and other Institutions of Learning; Annual or other Reports of School Boards, School Superintendents and School Committees; Educational Pamphlets, Programs and Papers of every kind, no matter how small or apparently unimportant.

6. Copies of the earlier Laws, Journals and Reports of our Territorial and State Legislatures; earlier Governors' Messages and Reports of State Officers; Reports of State Charitable and other State Institutions.

7. Files of Illinois Newspapers and Magazines, complete volumes of past years, or single numbers even. Publishers are earnestly requested to contribute their publications regularly, all of which will be carefully preserved and bound.

8. Maps of the State, or of Counties or Townships, of any date; Views and Engravings of buildings or historic places; Drawings or Photographs of scenery; Paintings; Portraits, etc., connected with Illinois History.

9. Curiosities of all kinds; Coins; Medals; Paintings; Portraits; Engravings; Statuary; War Relics; Autograph Letters of distinguished persons, etc.

10. Facts illustrative of our Indian Tribes—their History, Characteristics, Religion, etc.; Sketches of prominent Chiefs, Orators and Warriors, together with contributions of Indian Weapons, Costumes, Ornaments, Curiosities, and Implements; also, Stone Axes, Spears, Arrow Heads, Pottery, or other relics.

It is important that the work of collecting historical material in regard to the part taken by Illinois in the great World War be done immediately, before important local material be lost or destroyed.

In brief, everything that, by the most liberal construction, can illustrate the history of Illinois, its early settlement, its progress, or present condition. All will be of interest to succeeding generations. Contributions will be credited to the donors in the published reports of the Library and Society, and will be carefully preserved in the Historical Library as the property of the State, for the use and benefit of the people for all time.

Communications or gifts may be addressed to the Librarian and Secretary.

(Miss) Georgia L. Osborne.

PART I

Record of Official Proceedings

1927

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 1927.

The annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society was held in the Lincoln Room of the Library at 9:30 o'clock, May 13, 1927. Present:

Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, Dr. Charles H. Rammelkamp, Mr. Henry J. Patten, Mr. H. W. Clendenin, Mr. John H. Hauberg, Dr. Theodore C. Pease, Dr. J. A. James, and Miss Georgia L. Osborne.

The minutes of the previous meeting (1926) were read and approved. On motion of the President it was moved that General John McAuley Palmer be made a Vice President of the Illinois State Historical Society and that Miss Georgia L. Osborne should be placed on the Board of Directors to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mrs. Weber.

It was moved and seconded that resolutions be passed by the Society on the death of Senator Albert J. Beveridge, these resolutions to be prepared by Doctor Pease.

Moved by Doctor James that the meeting of the Board of Directors of the Society next year be called for nine o'clock instead of 9:30 and that the business meeting be held at 10 o'clock so that there would be plenty of time for any discussions that might arise.

Moved by Mr. Patten that a letter be sent to all local historical societies encouraging them to send delegates to our annual meeting with reports upon what has been accomplished by their respective societies during the past year.

Mr. Clendenin spoke of having been at Oak Ridge Cemetery recently and visiting Mrs. Weber's grave and he thought some memorial should be placed there to Mrs. Weber by the Society.

Doctor Rammelkamp suggested that as long as the family would mark the grave would it not be a wiser plan to place the memorial in the library in the Centennial Building. Some discussion followed and the President appointed a committee on this matter consisting of Mr. Clendenin as chairman, Mr. Thomas Rees, Doctor Theodore C. Pease and Miss Osborne to take this matter up.

The question of raising the annual dues of the Illinois State Historical Society brought forth some discussion and on consulting the Constitution of the Society it was decided that the Constitution be amended. That a committee be appointed by the President on this matter. To amend the Constitution it is necessary that a notice be sent out thirty days previous to the next

annual meeting of the Historical Society. It was moved that the Secretary send letters of greeting to Mrs. Sarah De Haven Roosa, Mr. Walter Colyer and Doctor Charles B. Johnson. The latter was to have had a paper before the Society at this meeting but was ill in a hospital.

Moved by Mr. Patten and seconded by Mr. Hauberg that in order to revise our mailing list of the Illinois State Historical Society that postal cards be sent to each member with the statement that if they wish to receive the publications of the Society they so advise the secretary. In this manner we can ascertain where the publications are most valued and the members that are most interested in the work of the Department.

A communication from Mr. R. B. Pearce of the White Hall Historical Society calling attention to the death of Miss Annie Louise Keller and her heroic effort to save the children of her school in the recent cyclone. The Directors were of the opinion that this really should be directed to the State Teachers' Association but that the Illinois State Historical Society was much in sympathy with the movement to have a memorial erected to this splendid woman.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 13, 1927, AT 10:30 A. M., AUDITORIUM ILLINOIS CENTENNIAL BUILDING.

The annual business meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was called to order at 10:30 A. M., in the Auditorium of the Centennial Building at Springfield, by the President, Doctor Otto L. Schmidt.

The reading of the minutes of the 1926 meeting was dispensed with as they were printed in the Transactions of the Society for that year and had been distributed to the members.

Miss Osborne read her report as assistant secretary. Mrs. I. G. Miller moved the adoption of this report. Motion seconded and carried. The next order of business was the report of committees and it was decided that the report of the genealogical committee be printed in the 1927 Transactions and its reading before the meeting be dispensed with.

Doctor Schmidt said his attention had been called to the serious illness of Mrs. Sarah DeHaven Roosa; also to the illness of Mr. Walter Colyer at Brownsville, Texas, and Dr. Charles B. Johnson of Champaign. Miss Osborne was instructed to send a communication to these members coming from this meeting.

He also spoke of the death of Senator Albert J. Beveridge, and thought a resolution should be prepared and sent to his widow. He spoke of the reputation of Mr. Beveridge as a historian and said that he had been particularly close to this Society as he had spent much time here in research work on his "Life of Lincoln" during the past three or four years.

Mr. Patten said he would make the motion provided he was not included on that committee. His motion was seconded by Mr. Hauberg and carried.

The Chairman, Doctor Otto L. Schmidt then appointed as the committee to draft this resolution: Doctor T. C. Pease, Mr. John H. Hauberg, and Miss Georgia L. Osborne.

He then asked if there was further business to be transacted. Doctor Schmidt spoke of the remarkable address of General John McAuley Palmer. Spoke of General Palmer's being, one might almost say, a citizen of Springfield and said he thought it would be a fine thing to show him some distinction by electing him a vice president of the society which could be suggested to the nominating committee.

The next order of business to come before the Society was the appointment of members of the nominating committee. A motion was made and carried that this committee be appointed

and the following were selected to serve: Mrs. I. G. Miller, chairman, Mrs. Isabel Jamison, Mr. John H. Hauberg and Doctor Theodore C. Pease.

While the Nominating Committee was out of the room Doctor Schmidt spoke of his work on the preservation of the old State House, now the Sangamon County Court House. This matter was taken up at the last annual meeting. We had an address by a professor of Architecture from the University of Illinois, Professor Thomas E. O'Donnell, in which he called attention to the old State House which for many years was the finest piece of architecture west of the Alleghanies. This old building is a beautiful structure but steps should be taken to preserve it. This much has been accomplished that there is a strong feeling in the county and state that it must be preserved. Think much progress can be made in the next year towards this end. Mr. Clendenin was asked if he had any remarks to make.

Mr. Clendenin said his paper had already published much material. That he was now retired and simply acted in an advisory capacity but would do what he could to help in the preservation of this historic building.

The President spoke of the fact that in former years it had been the custom to get reports from local historical societies but during the past three or four years on account of the large number of papers this custom had lapsed. He suggested that it be reinstated next year and notices sent to the various societies to have some one, if possible, present at the annual meeting to represent them. There are something like 32 local historical societies and a report from each would keep the State Society in touch with the work they are doing. He asked if there were any representatives of these societies present.

Mr. Oakleaf as the representative of Rock Island County Historical Society, told of the work of that Society and of their collection. Spoke of the efforts of Mr. John H. Hauberg who had had cases placed in the rotunda of the Court House and of the interest they created. How Mr. Hauberg was always scouting around. Spoke of his own election as Vice President of the Rock Island Pioneers which cooperates with the S. A. R. and kindred Societies and expect to place a tablet in memory of the Rock Island Rangers. That it was also the purpose of his society to place a Lincoln tablet showing that it is within a certain distance of his camping place; that they hoped some day to be able to place a tablet at the camping place of Abraham Lincoln during the Black Hawk War.

Doctor Schmidt asked Mr. Hauberg the status of the bill for Black Hawk's Watch Tower. Mr. Hauberg gave the present status of the bill.

Mr. W. F. Lodge of Piatt County, spoke of that county historical society. That they had marked all the spots of historic interest in his county.

Doctor Schmidt spoke briefly of the work of the Chicago Historical Society; of the course of children's lectures which they have had for three months and how they hope next year to have this cover a period of six or seven months. That this course has brought into the Chicago Historical Society Building during that brief period about 5,000 children. How the children become interested by going through the museum in historical subjects and write their little essays. Some of the teachers report a decided improvement in the interest of the children in the subject of history. Thought it would be a very good idea for this to be done throughout the State. That the public schools have certain lectures but there is not a sufficient interest in Illinois history in the schools.

Miss Bertha Miner of Winchester, spoke of a prize offered in Winchester of $25, for a child who writes the best historical essay on the history of Winchester. That the children are more interested in the prize than history, but that they will work for it. She said her county historical society had marked the site where Lincoln spoke in 1854; had marked the Aiken tavern where Lincoln had slept in 1854; the place where the first Union Sunday School was held in the United States.

Mr. Waller spoke about the bill for a Douglas memorial in Winchester.

Mr. Oakleaf thought it might be of interest to the Society to know that it had been arranged at the annual meeting of the Pioneer Association to have a committee appointed to mark the first house built in each township in Rock Island County and who built it. He said they could not get them all but they could get a great deal of data. That the idea had met with approval of a number of people whom he had consulted and that he thought it would be approved by the Association when it met in August.

Doctor Schmidt spoke of the proposed hard road to Prairie du Rocher and Fort Chartres and thought it was a certainty that this road would in all probability be an assured fact.

Mr. Waller called attention to the neglect of Garrison Hill. Doctor Schmidt said that an effort had been made to purchase Ft. Gage but the price was so high that the property would have to be condemned and the project was temporarily dropped. That the cemetery was neglected. He spoke of a map on which Mr. Roberts had worked for eight or ten years of Kaskaskia and that when his office was burned this map was destroyed. Mr. Roberts was then too old to do this work over again. Dr. Schmidt suggested that Mr. Waller prepare an address for the next meeting of the Historical Society on Ft. Gage.

There being no further business the Nominating Committee was asked to report. Mrs. I. G. Miller, the chairman, reported that the following officers had been nominated and asked that the report of the nominating committee be accepted:

President.

DR. O. L. SCHMIDT.....Chicago

Vice Presidents.

GEORGE A. LAWRENCE.....Galesburg
L. Y. SHERMAN.....Springfield
RICHARD YATES.....Springfield
ENSLEY MOORE.....Jacksonville
CHARLES L. CAPEN.....Bloomington
EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE.....New York City
GEN. JOHN MCAULEY PALMER.....Washington, D. C.

Board of Directors.

CHARLES H. RAMMELKAMP.....Jacksonville
GEORGE W. SMITH.....Carbondale
ANDREW RUSSEL.....Jacksonville
WALTER COLYER.....Albion
J. A. JAMES.....Evanston
H. W. CLENDENIN.....Springfield
JOHN H. HAUBERG.....Rock Island
REV. IRA W. ALLEN.....LaGrange
LAURENCE M. LARSON.....Urbana
THEODORE CALVIN PEASE.....Urbana
HENRY J. PATTEN.....Evanston
LOGAN HAY.....Springfield
GEORGE C. DIXON.....Dixon
LINCOLN WELDON.....Bloomington
GEORGIA L. OSBORNE.....Springfield

Secretary-Treasurer.

MISS GEORGIA L. OSBORNE.....Springfield

Honorary Vice Presidents.

The Presidents of Local Historical Societies in Illinois.

Mr. Oakleaf made the motion that this report be accepted and it was seconded and carried.

Mr. Oakleaf made a motion that the secretary cast the ballot for the officers nominated. Motion made and carried and the ballot so cast.

Doctor Schmidt spoke a few words of appreciation of the honor again conferred on him but thought it should have gone to some one else. He spoke of the Nominating Committee, including the name of General John McAuley Palmer and said the latter was going to become a national military historical writer. That he represents the great Palmer family and in a way continues the name of Palmer in our list of officers.

There being no further business, on motion of Mr. Oakleaf, which was seconded and carried, the business meeting of the Society adjourned.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

May 12, 1927.

To the Directors of the
Illinois State Historical Society
GENTLEMEN:

I beg to present to you a report as Assistant Secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society of the affairs of the Society dating from the death of the Secretary, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, which occurred in Chicago on May 31, 1926 to this date May 12, 1927.

The loss to the Society and Library and to the State of Illinois of the devoted services of Mrs. Weber has been irreparable, but with the loyal support of our staff the work has been carried on as Mrs. Weber had wished it, and progress along all lines can be reported.

OUR PURCHASES.

While we have not made any great purchases in the way of original manuscripts, the following have been added to our collection:

Legal document Frederick Inguersen and Enwell, reply against William Linney. Lincoln & Herndon, 1858, all in Mr. Lincoln's handwriting.

Letter of General Arthur St. Clair to Dudley Woodbridge on erecting States from the Northwest Territory, dated Chillicothe, Dec. 21, 1801.

Letter of Ulysses S. Grant, cadet United States Military Academy, dated West Point, April 8, 1843.

Letter of Alexander H. Stephens, addressed to Herschel V. Johnson on the death of Stephen A. Douglas, dated Crawfordsville, Ga., June 14, 1861.

Letter of Erastus Wright of Springfield, friend and neighbor of Abraham Lincoln, to Mrs. Ogden about his early visit to Lincoln in Washington and the result of the election. Dated Springfield, November 8, 1864.

Tax receipts of Erastus Wright 1822-29 and other miscellaneous documents.

Slavery Broadsides—Constitution of Springfield anti-slavery society.

Miniatures—Two Lincoln miniatures which were purchased for us in London by the Arthur H. Clark Company of Cleveland.

Medal—Lincoln medal which was given to White Eagle in 1862.

To our Lincolniana has also been added many valuable books. Newhall of New York and Briggs of Chicago as well as many of the other great Lincoln collectors have our want list and through them we have been able to add many rare Lincoln books, addresses, and sermons adding to the value of this, one of the greatest Lincoln collections. We have recently purchased from Mr. Bernhardt Wall his Lincoln's New Salem, a book of etchings which has attracted a great deal of attention.

OUR PUBLICATIONS.

We have recently distributed the first volume of "The Browning Diary" which is issued as the Illinois Historical Collections Volume 20, Lincoln Series Vol. II, edited by Doctor Theodore C. Pease and Dr. James G. Randall; also the Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1926, volume 33 of this series; the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Volume 19, Nos. 3-4, October 1926-January 1927 is ready for distribution.

I wish to call the attention of the members to the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society and ask for contributions. While a good deal of material for the Journal is sent in, still some of it is not of a high enough order for so expensive a publication. All material sent in will be preserved as it oft-times serves a good purpose, still, as stated above, we are in need for this publication of the Society original material which will be a valuable addition to State history. If you know of anything along this line which has not been printed and is worthy of a place in the Journal please notify the Secretary.

NEWSPAPER FILES.

Our newspaper files have all been gone over recently and very carefully cataloged. They are consulted daily and have to be guarded closely. The late Senator Beveridge spent days and nights in our newspaper room in his work on the life of Lincoln. Photostatic copies of articles are constantly asked for from these files and are granted but the newspapers are returned the same day, as the photostatic machine is the property of the Secretary of State and is in close proximity to the Library. The files have recently been used as testimony in court suits.

It is now a question of room for the increasing files of the papers. We cannot at the best calculation have space for more than one year's growth and this is doubling up and crowding the files as they are. Our file at present represents one hundred and seventy-one different cities and towns, thirty-nine of which are in other States than Illinois. We bind each month six daily newspapers; every two months, six dailies; every three months, ten dailies; and yearly, twenty-two weeklies. We also have several hundred unbound volumes of newspapers.

The only solution of this problem is that if the new unit to the Centennial Building is erected, we will have to ask for space for the newspaper room.

GENEALOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

We are adding constantly to this department many valuable books which will be of great service to our workers along this line. Every mail brings letters asking us to look up family history; these we take care of to the best of our ability and resources. I have a report ready as chairman of this committee but as it is quite lengthy I beg leave to have it printed and not read at this time as there is a paper on the program to follow the business meeting.

MEMBERSHIP.

The membership of the Society has been increased the past year by one hundred new members of which one was a life member, a great many of the students of Professor J. A. James of Northwestern University at Evanston being among the number; others being newspaper men, lawyers from other States in the Union, members of women's clubs and patriotic organizations. The annual dues of One Dollar does not pay the postage on the publications sent to these members.

DECEASED MEMBERS.

We have had a heavy toll in the death of members of the Society. When sketches of our members are sent in by the family or friends we publish them in the Journal of the Society. The list of those who have passed away since May 1926 is as follows:

Andrew Logan Anderson, Lincoln.....April, 1927
J. L. Barber, Marseilles.....August 7, 1926
Charles Bent, Morrison.....December 16, 1926
I. S. Blackwelder, Leland Stanford
University, California.....August 14, 1926
Henry H. Colby, Tallula.....December 22, 1926
James Archibald Cunningham, Virginia.....April 28, 1927
Rev. W. A. Galt, Decatur.....September 13, 1926
A. J. Gayhagen, Clinton..... 1926
Dr. Homer Mead, Augusta.....September, 1926
Mrs. S. W. Puffer, Rochester, N. Y.....Jan. 15, 1927
W. A. Richardson, Quincy.....March 20, 1927
Thomas Rinaker, Carlinville.....June 18, 1926
H. W. Roberts, Chester.....May 9, 1926
Mrs. A. W. Sale, Springfield.....December 31, 1926
S. W. Searle, Rock Island.....July 19, 1926

John W. Walters, Wyoming.....October 29, 1926
Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield.....May 31, 1926
Dr. Henry M. Whelpley, St. Louis, Mo.....June 26, 1926
Rev. A. Zurbonsen, Riverton.....January 21, 1927

Total on mailing list	2,392
Illinois membership of the Historical Society	1,054
Membership outside Illinois	120
Members outside of U. S. (France & Canada)	2
Libraries in Illinois	533
Libraries in the U. S. outside Illinois	228
Libraries in Canada & England	16
Newspapers	235
Members of the General Assembly	204
New members since May, 1926	100

OUR WORK WITH CLUBS AND STUDY CLASSES.

Each year we are called upon to help the various clubs with suggestions for their programs of work; if they are making a study of Illinois history or the life of Lincoln we are rich in material along these lines. Classes from the grade schools make annual pilgrimages to the Library with their pupils and write up what they have seen or gotten out of their visit. One of the largest delegations last winter was the Boy Scouts over seventy in number.

On Saturday, February 5th, we entertained the Springfield Woman's Club Over the Teacup Department. It was their Lincoln birthday celebration; the main library was used as well as the ante-room and the Lincoln Room which were filled with the members of the Club, about three hundred in all. The address was given by Mr. Paul M. Angle of the Lincoln Centennial Association.

As specially invited guests and guests of honor were citizens of Springfield who knew Mr. Lincoln. There were eleven of them present and a picture of the group was taken in the Lincoln Room, the background being the mantelpiece over which is hung our fine oil painting of Lincoln by George H. Story.

LINCOLN EXHIBIT AT THE SESQUI-CENTENNIAL AT PHILADELPHIA

When Governor Small and the Commission to the Sesqui-Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, composed of Hon. James Forrester, Taylorville, Chairman; Hon. Randolph Boyd of Galva, Secretary; Hon. Otis Arnold of Quincy; Mr. Edward Hines of Chicago and Mr. Joseph P. Meyers of Freeport, decided that a Lincoln exhibit would be an interesting and attractive feature of the Illinois Building at the Exposition, they conferred with

Doctor Otto L. Schmidt, President of the Board of Trustees of the Library and me as Acting Librarian at that time and it was decided to reproduce as nearly as possible the Lincoln exhibit which is located in the Lincoln Room of the Illinois State Historical Library in the Centennial Building. It was not until June 21st that I learned of the amount of space or amount of money appropriated for this exhibit, but with the aid of the force in the Library and my former experience in making exhibits of this character the exhibit was put in place September 1st in the left wing of the Illinois Building at the Sesqui-Centennial Exposition, covering 95 feet of space and consisting of 15 flat wall cases giving a pictorial and manuscript life of Lincoln in the following order:

I Ancestry of Lincoln
II Youth of Lincoln
III Lincoln at New Salem
IV Lincoln the Surveyor
V Lincoln in the Black Hawk War
VI Marriage and Domestic Life of Abraham Lincoln
VII Lincoln the Lawyer
VIII Lincoln Member of Congress
IX The Anti-Nebraska Movement
X Lincoln-Douglas Debates
XI Lincoln and the Campaign of 1860
XII Lincoln the President
XIII Lincoln and the War Between the States
XIV Assassination and Death of Lincoln
XV Some Letters of Mr. Lincoln Prior to 1860

To these flat wall cases were added two additional ones, some extracts from the Browning Diary which has recently been published and distributed by the Library. Above these flat wall cases were some eighty pictures of Mr. Lincoln and in the glass show cases on the floor were cartoons, books, letter legal documents, music, relics, etc.

I also prepared a booklet or guide to the exhibit in the Lincoln room with the idea of aiding the visitor to locate the letters, legal documents, pictures, books, etc. in the exhibit.

GIFTS TO THE LIBRARY.

Among the more important gifts to the Library must be mentioned the collection of the Central Illinois Historical Society at Bloomington. Under the direction of Mr. Milo Custer, its secretary, this Society has been for a number of years collecting and preserving the history of the State. For financial reasons the Society had to discontinue its work and this fine collection of pioneer relics, pictures, daguerreotypes of pioneers in Central Illinois, books, etc., has been turned over to us; it is a valuable addition to our Library and will be cataloged and made available to our students.

Mr. Wilberforce Hurlbut Young of Montclair, N. J. has sent us the original manuscript of the Proceedings of the Illinois Anti-Slavery Convention held in Upper Alton on the 26th, 27th and 28th days of October 1837; it was held in the home of his grandfather, Rev. Thaddeus Beman Hurlbut. Elihu Wolcott of Jacksonville was President and Elijah P. Lovejoy, Secretary of the Convention. Delegates to the Convention are listed by Counties. Among other papers in the collection was an original letter of Elijah P. Lovejoy, dated Alton, September 8, 1837 and other letters bearing upon the publication of "The Observer" Lovejoy's paper. We will publish this interesting material in some future issue of the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society.

Last Summer I learned through Mrs. Sarah DeHaven Roosa, one of the early and valued members of the Society, that there had been preserved by her sons when they were working on the remodeling of the old State House, now the Sangamon County Court House, a score or more of the Corinthian pillars which formerly stood and supported the balcony in the House of Representatives—where Lincoln made his famous "House divided against itself speech," June 16, 1858.

The gallery in the House of Representatives of this old historic building was held in place by these beautiful Corinthian pillars placed in a semi-circle, capitals for these pillars were hand carved by William Helmle, early architect of Springfield. Corinthian architecture is usually considered the finest and most elaborate of three styles in use. In Corinthian pillars the capitals required hours of tedious work to carve the ornate design. Hand carved Corinthian pillars are seldom found in modern architecture since it is much cheaper to cast the design in a composition made of sawdust and cement but these capitals for the old State House are of the old and perfect order. When I learned that these pillars and capitals were about to be removed from the building in which they had been stored by the Roosa brothers, I immediately got in touch with Mr. Rees of the State Register, who took up the matter with Mr. Logan Hay and Mr. Paul Angle of the Lincoln Centennial Association. They were all very much interested and said the pillars ought to be preserved and under the supervision of Mr. Angle these pillars and capitals were removed to the garage in the home of Mr. Logan Hay, where they are now stored and are the property of the Illinois State Historical Society. When we have a museum these capitals can be mounted and shown in an artistic manner; they are the gift to the Society of the Roosa brothers of Springfield.

Mr. Edward Payne of Springfield, one of our most interested members of the Society, has deposited in the Library two fine oil paintings of Mr. Lincoln, one a replica of the one painted from life in Springfield by George F. Wright, the other a repro-

duction of the Hessler portrait, (the one in profile) ; these portraits hang in the ante-room of the Library and are the work of Mr. William Patterson of Chicago and are valuable additions to our Lincolniana collection.

Mr. H. J. Patten of Chicago has presented to the Library tablets from Nippur in Southern Mesopotamia; one is the account for wheat, one for grinding flour; another a receipt for oil, another a pay list of quantities of bread and food stuffs, etc.

Honorable Arthur Roe, a member of the House of Representatives from Vandalia, Fayette County, had a photostat copy of the tax book of Fayette County, Illinois, 1827-1830 made and presented to the library. This gives the date of purchase of land beginning with 1816, the patentee, present owner, number of acres, description of land and residence. Among the prominent names one finds John Reynolds, John McLean, Nathaniel Pope, Elijah C. Berry, John Messinger, Henry Eddy, Ferdinand Ernst, members of the Russell family and many more. Representative Roe is making an effort to have the original tax book given or deposited in the Library.

The Right Reverend John Chanler White, Bishop of the Diocese of Springfield, has presented to the Society a very fine daguerreotype of John Hay, at the age of sixteen years; we are very glad to add this fine gift to our collection.

Mrs. Albyn Adams of Jacksonville, Illinois, has presented to the Library a large silver table spoon. This spoon was a part of the wedding silver of Elizabeth Kennedy of Philadelphia, who married in 1797 Colonel Kennedy Long, who served in the defense of Baltimore in 1812. Mrs. Long came to Illinois with her family in 1832; part of that time was spent in Springfield—she died in Pittsburgh. This spoon was owned by a daughter—Mrs. Moses Knapp.

Mrs. Frank P. Ide of Springfield has presented to the Library a table and deposited with us some chairs of the Lincoln period, besides pioneer relics such as dresses, a doll made with a hickory nut head and dressed in material from the wedding dress or rather the second day dress of Mary Caroline Owsley, wife of John E. Owsley.

Mrs. Ida E. Stillwell of Reed's Ferry, New Hampshire, presented to the department a rocking chair which is about 75 years old.

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK SESQUI-CENTENNIAL.

There has been introduced in the General Assembly now in session a bill, for an Act making an appropriation for the commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the acquisition of the Northwest Territory. The Bill introduced by Representative Fekete carries an appropriation for the sum of $300,000 or so much thereof as may be necessary to the Northwest Territory

Commission, and that the commemoration exercises be held in Cahokia, Illinois. I attended the hearing before the appropriation committee on this bill and read a letter from Doctor Schmidt, President of the Illinois State Historical Society, giving a full and detailed account of George Rogers Clark's conquest of the Northwest and trusting that the appropriation committee would make a liberal appropriation for a proper and suitable commemoration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the acquisition of the Northwest Territory.

The discussions on the bill were principally as to who were to be the Commissioners and how they expected to spend so large a sum of money; the bill was referred to a committee and I think with amendments we may reasonably expect a generous appropriation for the celebration.

On December 3, 1926, at our Illinois Day celebration Professor James gave a fine address on George Rogers Clark, his subject being "The Significance of the Sesqui-Centennial Celebration of the American Revolution West of the Alleghany Mountains". This address is being printed in the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society and a large number of separates printed on the article which will be sent out over the State as well as in Indiana.

MEMORIALS TO MRS. WEBER.

In the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Vol. 19, Nos. 1-2, April - July 1926, there is a memorial to Mrs. Weber, Secretary of the Society 1903-1926, by the President of the Illinois State Historical Society, Doctor Otto L. Schmidt.

In Volume 19, Nos. 3-4, April 1926-January 1927, a memorial to Mrs. Weber by Evarts Boutell Greene of New York City, a former member of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library and Secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society. This memorial was given at our Illinois Day meeting, December 3, 1926. Doctor Greene was unable to be present but the address was read by Dr. Charles H. Rammelkamp.

Two other memorials to Mrs. Weber have been given—one a memorial chair to be placed in Constitution Hall of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Washington, D. C., the gift of Doctor Otto L. Schmidt, President of the Illinois State Historical Society in the name of the Society. The other given by the Illinois Daughters of the American Revolution at their recent State Conference in Rock Island in March 1927. This memorial in Mrs. Weber's name is a sustaining scholarship in the Schauffler School in Cleveland, Ohio; this school with this fund educates a foreigner to go out and teach his or her own people, uplift them and make valuable citizens of them. The young girl who was benefited by this last year was a Bulgarian.

In the Palmer School of Springfield named for Governor John M. Palmer, a memorial to Mrs. Weber was placed by Springfield Chapter of the D. A. R. on January 13, 1927. This memorial is an illuminated framed Washington prayer. Underneath on a bronze tablet is the name of Jessie Palmer Weber with dates of birth and death. The Springfield Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, in this manner honors its deceased members by placing such a memorial in the various public schools of the city.

I have been asked to prepare an article on Mrs. Weber for the forthcoming Blue Book of Illinois. In this I shall speak of these memorials and trust that Illinois whom she served so faithfully and with such distinction will honor in a suitable way in bronze, on canvas or in some other manner "Mrs. Weber, a Daughter of Illinois."

These, gentlemen, are some of the activities of the Society which give you an idea of its growth and development along all lines during the past year and is herewith respectfully submitted.

GEORGIA L. OSBORNE,
Assistant Secretary,
Illinois State Historical Society.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON GENEALOGY.

TO THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

We have added quite a number of valuable genealogical books to our collection, which as usual I have listed according to States, Family Histories, and General Works.

Mrs. Spangler, Registrar, Illinois Daughters of the American Revolution, has compiled a book of unpublished family Bible records. A copy of these records was sent to the Memorial Continental Library, Washington, D. C., and the other copy has been purchased by the Illinois State Historical Library.

We have had some family histories presented to the library, which have been listed in their alphabetical order. I am constantly on the lookout for any one compiling a family history and at once write them asking that they deposit a copy in the library. I find the lists gotten out by the Library of Congress of great assistance along this line.

I am still hoping that in each county in the state some man or woman will be interested enough to copy or have copied early marriage records, old deeds and wills, and deposit them in the library as such material is invaluable.

LIST OF ACQUISITIONS, COMPILED BY STATES.

Connecticut State. Darien, Conn. Abstract of Church Records of Darien, Fairfield County, Connecticut, by Spencer P. Mead. Typed copy. 1920.

Connecticut State. East Haddam, Conn. Compiled by Mrs. W. A. Barber. 76 p. Typed copy. 1927.

Connecticut State. Groton, Conn. First Church at Groton, Connecticut, Records. Compiled by Mrs. W. A. Barber. 44 p. Typed copy. 1927.

Connecticut State. Ledyard, Conn. History of the Town of Ledyard, 1650-1900. Rev. John Avery. Norwich, Conn. Noyes and Davis. 1901. 334 p.

Connecticut State. Litchfield, Conn. Honor Roll of Litchfield Revolutionary Soldiers. Litchfield, Conn. D. A. R. M. F. Talmadge. 1912. 233 p.

Connecticut State. Norfolk, Conn. Record of the Church of Christ, Norfolk, Connecticut. Compiled by Mrs. W. A. Barber. 10 p. Typed copy. 1927.

Connecticut State. West Simsbury. Genealogical Sketches of Early Settlers of West Simsbury, by Abiel Brown. Pub. Hartford, Conn. Case, Tiffany and Co. 1856. 151 p.

Georgia State. Historical Collections of the Georgia Chapters Daughters of the American Revolution. Atlanta, Georgia. Charles P. Byrd. State Printer. 1926. 373 p.

Illinois State. Banking. History of Banking in Illinois. Chicago, Ill. S. J. Clark Company. 1926. 4 Vols.

Illinois State. Clark County. History of Crawford and Clark Counties, by William Henry Perrin. Chicago, Ill. O. L. Basken Co. 1883. Part 1, 470 p. Part 2, 374 p.

Illinois State. Crawford County. History of Crawford and Clark Counties, by William Henry Perrin. Chicago, Ill. O. L. Basken Co. 1883. Part 1, 470 p. Part 2, 374 p.

Illinois State. Encyclopedia. Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois with Commemorative Biographies. Newton Bateman, Paul Selby and J. S. Currey, Editors. Pub. Chicago, Ill. Munsell Publishing Co. 1926. 1031 p.

Illinois State. History of Illinois and Her People, by Prof. George W. Smith. Chicago, Ill. American Historical Society. 1927. 6 vols.

Illinois State. Jo Daviess Co. Centennial History of Jo Daviess Co., Ill., by John Lorrain, Esq. Galena, Ill. Gazette Book Co. 1876. 11 p.

Kentucky State. Ohio County, Kentucky, in the Olden Days, by Mary Taylor Logan. Louisville, Ky. John P. Morton Co. 1926. 204 p.

Kentucky State. Old Kentucky Entries and Deeds. By Willard Rouse Tillson. Louisville, Ky. Standard Printing Co. 1926. 571 p.

Maine State. History of Winthrop, Maine, 1771-1925. By Everett S. Stackpole. Auburn, Maine. Merrill and Weber. 1925. 741 p.

Massachusetts State. Groton, Mass. Vital Records of Groton, Mass. Pub. Salem, Mass. The Essex Institute. 1926. 271 p.

Massachusetts State. Kingston, Mass. Death Records of Kingston, Mass., by Thomas Bradford Drew. Pub. Boston, Mass., by Society of Mayflower Descendants. 1905. 31 p.

Massachusetts State. Malden, Mass. Memorial of Celebration of Town of Malden, Mass. Pub. 1900. Cambridge, Mass. University Press. 356 p.

Massachusetts State. Woodstock, Mass. History of Woodstock, by Clarence W. Bowen. Norwood, Mass. Plimpton Press. 1926. 891 p.

Massachusetts State. Yarmouth, Mass. Gravestone Records, Yarmouth, Mass., by George E. Bowman. Pub. Boston, Mass. Society of Mayflower Descendants. 1906. 47 p.

Michigan State. History of Monroe County, Michigan, by Talcott Wing. New York, N. Y. Munsell Co. 1890. 606 p.

New Hampshire State. Chester, N. H. History of Chester, New Hampshire, by John Carroll Chase. Pub. Derry, New Hampshire. 1926. 535 p.

New Hampshire State. Surry, N. H. History of the town of Surry, Cheshire Co., New Hampshire, by Frank Burnside Kingsbury. Pub. Surry, N. H., by the town. 1925. 1064 p.

New Jersey State. Revolutionary History of Elizabeth, New Jersey. Pub. by the city of Elizabeth, N. J. 1926. 40 p.

New York State. Charlestown, N. Y. Reformed Dutch Church at Charlestown, Rockland County, New York. Compiled by Mrs. W. A. Barber. 84 p. Typed copy. 1927.

New York State. Kings County. Index of Wills of Kings Co., New York. By M. H. Thomas and Charles Shepard. Washington, D. C. Charles Shepard. 1926. 93 p.

New York State. Long Island. Long Island Cemetery Inscriptions. Compiled by Mrs. W. A. Barber. Typed copy. 1927. 19 p.

New York State. New Windsor. New Windsor Presbyterian Church Record, New Windsor, New York. Compiled by Mrs. W. A. Barber. 33 p. Typed copy. 1927.

North Carolina State. Historical Sketches of North Carolina, by Col. John Wheeler. Pub. New York, N. Y. Fred H. Hitchcock. 1925.

Ohio State. Clark County. History of Clark County, Ohio. Chicago, Ill. W. H. Beers and Co. 1881. 1085 p.

Pennsylvania State. Lancaster. Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in the Revolution, by Percy J. Burrell, L. F. Kready, etc. 1926. 136 p.

Pennsylvania State. Tohickon. A History of the Tohickon Union Church, by John William Hinke. Pub. Meadville, Pa. Pennsylvania German Society. 1926. 482 p.

Rhode Island State. New London County. Colonial Rhode Island, by Alice Collins Gleeson. Pawtucket, R. I. Auto Journal. 1926. 260 p.

Rhode Island State. New London County Historical Society Collections by Joshua Hempstead. Providence, R. I. New London Co. Historical Society. 1901. 750 p.

South Carolina State. Some Huguenot Families of South Carolina and Georgia, by Harry Alexander Davis. Washington, D. C. H. A. Davis. 1926. 78 p.

South Dakota State. Some Pioneers and Pilgrims on the Prairies of Dakota, by Rev. John B. Reese. Pub. Mitchell, S. D. By J. B. Reese. 1920. 94 p.

Tennessee State. Annals of Tennessee, by J. G. M. Ramsey. Pub. Kingsport, Tenn. The Kingsport Press. 1926. 832 p.

Tennessee State. Old Times in West Tennessee. Pub. Memphis, Tenn. By W. G. Cheeney. 1873. 295 p.

Virginia State. Henry County. History of Henry County, Virginia, by Judith P. America Hill. Martinsville, Va. By J. P. A. Hill. 1925. 332 p.

West Virginia State. Fayette County. History of Fayette County, West Virginia. By J. T. Peters and H. B. Carden. Pub. Charleston, W. Va. Jerrett Printing Co. 1925.

West Virginia State. Morgantown. History of making Morgantown, West Virginia. By James Morton Callahan. Pub. Morgantown, W. Va. 1926. 330 p.

West Virginia State. Tucker County. History of Tucker County, West Virginia. Kingwood, W. Va. Preston Publishing Co. 1884.

FAMILY HISTORIES.

Banks Family. Powers, Banks Ancestry by Wm. H. Powers. Ames, Iowa. J. L. Powers. 1921. 325 p.

Denio Family. Genealogy of Aaron Denio of Deerfield, Mass. By Francis B. Denio and Herbert W. Denio, Montpelier, Vt. The Capitol City Press. 1926. 345 p.

Georgia Family. Georgia Family in America by Elmore L. Brooks. Evangelical Pub. Co. 314 p.

Guiteras, Wardwell and Allied Families. By Gertrude E. Guiteras. Pub. New York, N. Y. American Historical Society. 1926. 1290 p.

Haskell Family. Haskell, Hayner and Allied Families. Pub. New York, N. Y. American Historical Society. 1926. 149 p.

Hayner Family. Haskell, Hayner and Allied Families. Pub. New York, N. Y. American Historical Society. 1926. 149 p.

Howser Family. Grandfather and Grandmother Howser, by M. L. Howser. Pub. Peoria, Ill. M. L. Howser. 1926. 65 p.

Hudson Family. Hudson-Mohawk Genealogical and Family Memories, by Cuyler Reynolds. Pub. New York, N. Y. Lewis Historical Co. 1911. 4 Vols.

Main Family. A Family History, by R. H. Main. Privately Printed. 1926. 33 p.

Mohawk Family. Hudson-Mohawk Genealogical and Family Memories, by Cuyler Reynolds. Pub. New York, N. Y. Lewis Historical Co. 1911. 4 Vols.

Moss Family. Chronicles of the Moss Family. By Rose Moss Scott. Chrisman, Ill. R. M. Scott. 1926. 36 p.

Powers Family. The Powers, Banks Ancestry, by Wm. H. Powers. Pub. Ames, Iowa. By J. L. Powers. 1921. 325 p.

Powers Family. Some Annals of the Powers Family, by W. P. Powers. Pub. Los Angeles, Calif. By W. P. Powers. 1924. 304 p.

Von Reisenkampff-Ulrich Family. Family History by Barlow A. Ulrich. Pub. Chicago, Ill. University Publishing Co. 1907. 68 p.

Williams Family. The Covered Wagon and Williams Family History, by George Williams. Pub. Springfield, Ill. Alice E. Orendorff, Comp. 1926. 28 p.

GENERAL WORKS.

Abridged Compendium of American Genealogy. By Frederick A. Virkus. Vol. 2. 628 p. Chicago, Ill. 1926. F. A. Virkus & Company Pubs.

American Marriage Records before 1699. By William M. Clemens. Pub. Pompton Lakes, N. J. Biblio Co. 1926. 244 p.

Calendar of Manuscripts in Paris Archives. N. M. Miller Surrey. Washington, D. C. Carnegie Institute. 1926. 889 p.

Daughters of the American Revolution. Index to Rolls of Honor. (Ancestors Index.) Vols. 41-80. Washington, D. C. 1926.

Daughters of the American Revolution. Lineage Books of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Vols. 85-88. Washington, D. C. 1926.

National Cyclopedia of American Biography. Vol. 16-28. New York City. 1926. James T. White & Co., Pubs.

New England Captives Carried to Canada. Emma Lewis Coleman. 2 Vols. Portland, Maine. 1925. Southworth Press.

Notable Southern Families. By Zila Armstrong. Vol. 3. Chattanooga, Tenn. 1926. 353 p.

Uniforms of American, British, French and German Armies during the American Revolution, by Lt. Charles M. Lefferts. New York, N. Y. New York Historical Society. 1926. 289 p.

Trusting that the members of the Society will continue their interest in the department in the way of suggestions of books and material that will add to its usefulness to our students, I am

Yours respectfully,

GEORGIA L. OSBORNE,

Chairman Genealogical Committee,
Illinois State Historical Society.

71889

PROGRAM

Twenty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
Auditorium Centennial Memorial Building
Springfield, Illinois.
May 12-13, 1927.

ORDER OF EXERCISES

THURSDAY AFTERNOON

May 12, 1927—2:30 o'clock

Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, President of the Society, Presiding.

Address—The Irish in Illinois.
Judge John P. McGoorty, Superior Court of Cook County, Chicago, Ill.

Address—Some Half Forgotten Towns in Illinois.
Mr. Elbert Waller, Tamaroa, Illinois.

Songs—
Love's a Merchant - - - - - - - - - - - - - - Carew
Fluttering Birds - - - - - - - - - - - - - - Mana-Zucca
The Hole in the Fence - - - - - - - - - - - - - Russell
Mrs. Julia Pugh Trainor, Springfield, Illinois.

Address—The Polish Exiles in Illinois.
Mrs. Isaac D. Rawlings, Springfield, Illinois.

Address—The Reaper as a Factor in the Development of the Agriculture of Illinois, 1834-1865.
Mr. Herbert A. Kellar, McCormick Agricultural Library, Chicago, Illinois.

THURSDAY EVENING SESSION, 8:15 O'CLOCK

Invocation—Rev. Jerry Wallace, Springfield, Illinois.

Songs—
The Sweetest Flower That Blows - - - - - - - - - Hawley
Love Me Well - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - Bemberg
Mrs. Sidney Blair Harry, Taylorville, Illinois.

Annual Address—President Lincoln's War Problem.
John McAuley Palmer, Brigadier General United States Army (retired), Washington, D. C.

Songs—
Dawn - Curran
Joy in Summer - - - - - - - - - - - - - - Holmes-Tidy
Life - Curran
Mrs. Sidney Blair Harry, Taylorville, Illinois.

Reception in the Illinois State Historical Library. Public invited.

FRIDAY MORNING, MAY 13, 1927

9:30—Directors' Meeting in Office of Secretary.
10:00—Business Meeting of the Society in the Auditorium of the Centennial Building.

Address—The Presidential Campaign of 1860.
Dr. Charles B. Johnson, Champaign, Illinois.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, MAY 13, 1927, 2:30 P. M.

Address—Pioneer Baptists of Illinois.
Professor E. G. Lentz, Department of History, Southern Illinois State Normal University, Carbondale, Illinois.

Address—The Wild Flowers of Illinois and Their Preservation.
Mrs. Josephine Craven Chandler, Havana, Illinois.

Songs—
Thank God for a Garden - - - - - - - Teresa Del Riego
Dawn - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - Franco Leoni
For You Alone - - - - - - - - - - - - - - Geehl
Miss Katherine Quinn, Springfield, Illinois.

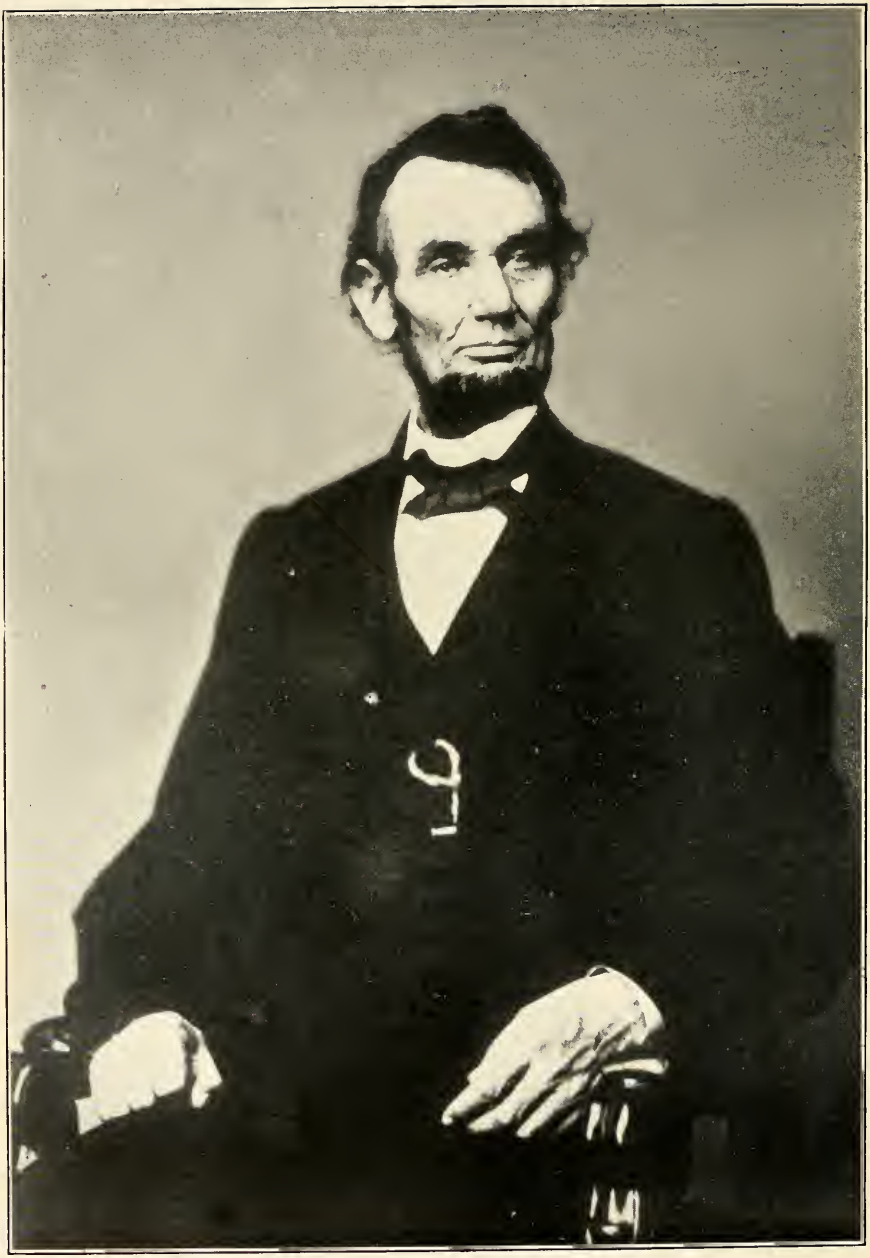
Address—Lincoln Lands and Lineage.
Dr. Louis A. Warren, Zionsville, Indiana.

Adjournment.

PART II

Papers Read at the Annual Meeting

May 12-13, 1927



PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S WAR PROBLEM.

By JOHN MCAULEY PALMER,
Brigadier General United States Army (retired).

In going over the material for this study of President Lincoln's War Problem, I soon became conscious of a new appreciation of the greatness of his purely military achievement. The reason for this is not far to seek. In returning to my reading of the Civil War period after an interval of more than a dozen years I brought with me the impressions of another war in which I had been a witness and a participant. I found myself contrasting the one situation with the other, and especially was I able to revive something of the atmosphere of the Civil War because I have lived, as you have lived, in the atmosphere of the World War. The two war situations were very different, but I find a new understanding of the older situation by contrasting it with the situation that came within the scope of my own recollection and experience.

As this new conception of Abraham Lincoln's war burden came to me through the emphasis of contrast, I know of no better way to submit it to you than to outline something of that same contrast.

We all remember our entry into the World War. Ten years ago this spring Congress declared war against the German Empire. This action was decisive and was fully endorsed by the American people as inevitable and necessary. Within the next few weeks under strong pressure of public opinion, laws were passed making all of our man power and all of our wealth available to the government for the prosecution of the war. All this was possible because the American people were united and were spiritually and morally prepared for war and because during the preceding three years they had come to appraise the formidable nature of the German War Power and to understand its threat against liberal civilization. We all knew that the danger called for the organization of all our resources and we made all of our resources available to our constitutional commander in chief. President Wilson was confronted by a tremendous task and responsibility, but from the beginning he was free to plan on the largest scale and to expend the national energies and resources without stint. Here we find the first great contrast with the Civil War situation. It was one of Mr. Lincoln's greatest war problems to awaken popular support at the beginning and to keep it alive through long years of discouragement and defeat.

In a technical military sense we were unprepared for the World War. But in a larger and more important sense we were prepared because the whole nation was imbued with the will to victory and was prepared to make all of the sacrifices that might be necessary to assure it. We knew at the start that it might be a long war and that it might tax all of our resources to win it. Indeed it was no small advantage that public opinion recognized the seriousness of the task and therefore spared the government any pressure for hasty results. The Wilson administration did not have to contend with that cry of "On to Richmond" which hurried the Lincoln administration into the disaster of Bull Run.

The main objectives of the World War were also clear. It soon became apparent that an American Army strong enough to replace the collapsing power of Russia must be organized, trained and equipped without delay; that this Army must go to France and that it must take a decisive part in the crushing defeat of the German forces on the Western front. The obstacles in the way of this enterprise were serious but they were clearly understood, not only by the government but by the people. The normal difficulty of transporting a great army overseas was increased by the German submarine. This peril must be overcome by our Navy and our shipbuilding industry must replace tonnage more rapidly than Germany could destroy it. All this must be done without impairing the capacity of our industries to supply our Allies with food, munitions and other materials of war. It is true that the Government was given a gigantic task, but the broad issues were clear and it could count upon the unqualified support of the American people. The time element was indeed pressing, but for a time at least we could count upon the continued resistance of the great armies of Britain, France and Italy.

How different was the situation that confronted Abraham Lincoln when he assumed the office of President. He was facing the issues of a war that was all the more terrible because its outlines were vague and uncertain. The immediate objective was obscure and there was no united country to support him. The seven cotton states had already seceded and had formed a new Confederate government. North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas, with the border slave states, were wavering and their action was largely dependent upon his handling of the critical situation that awaited him in Charleston Harbor. He did not have the means of effective coercion and he was wise enough to see that even the threat of force would certainly extend the rebellion and alienate a large and influential element in the North. This was the first of many situations in which the President himself must find a homely practical solution and at the same time build up the necessary public opinion to support him. He could not hold Fort Sumter. If he yielded to the demand that it be surrendered to South Carolina he would virtually recognize the fact of secession and separation. If he ordered reinforce-

ments he would drive the wavering states out of the Union. He must do something and yet not commit the overt act of war. He decided, as he expressed it, "to send bread to Anderson." But before this could be done the Confederate batteries had opened fire. This was the real declaration of war. It united the North and gave President Lincoln his first lease of war power. This was indeed his mandate from the people, but neither he nor the people were able to see the magnitude of the task as all intelligent Americans saw it in the spring of 1917. Neither the President nor the people had been schooled by the actual spectacle of war as we all had been when our crisis came in 1917.

To return to our contrast. When it became apparent that we must send troops to France, Secretary Baker, by a personal examination of existing records in the War Department, was able to select a commander who, on the face of the record, had the character, the loyalty, the intelligence and the experience under responsibility to fit him for the task. When General Pershing was summoned to Washington to receive his new command, he was assured by the Secretary that he would receive the full support of the government and that no detailed orders would hamper or interfere with his initiative or discretion. General Pershing arrived in Paris with his staff early in June. Before the end of July he had completed basic plans which were still under progressive development and with their original aims unchanged when the defeat of the Germans in November, 1918, brought the war to a sudden and unexpected conclusion. The army at home was formed, trained, supplied and transported in conformity with these plans. In August of 1917 we had but one partially trained division in France. By the 20th of February, 1918, four American divisions numbering approximately 110,000 men were in various sectors along the front. During May, June and the first part of July, American troops took an active part in checking the German offensives. Beginning July 18th, American divisions participated in ever increasing numbers in the great Allied counter-attack. September 12th and 13th, the American First Army, comprising 430,000 Americans and 70,000 French, made a brilliantly successful attack upon the strong German position of St. Mihiel. Before this operation was completed, elements of this new army began to concentrate in a new theatre of operations north of Verdun and west of the Meuse. In the Meuse-Argonne offensive, which began on September 26th and terminated with the armistice on November 11th, General Pershing victoriously commanded an army more than five times as large as the combined forces of Grant and Lee in the final campaign of the Civil War. If we consider the development of this mighty force in the brief period between September, 1917 and September of the following year, we must recognize it as the greatest organizational feat in the history of the world. It was possible, in the first place, because all the moral and material

resources of the nation were at the disposal of the government. But the fabrication of these great resources demanded two great men under the War President—one a trained military genius capable of planning, organizing and directing them, and the other a great war minister willing to give him power and responsibility, and capable of making the national resources available and subject to his demand. It is this ideal relation between the civil administration and the general in the field which is essential to the successful conduct of war. There is no finer example of this in history than is afforded by Secretary Baker's support of General Pershing. This team work between his subordinates was so perfect, that after approving the selection of General Pershing, the President was able to leave the conduct of military operations entirely to his Secretary of War.

When we return to the history of the Civil War, this ideal harmonious relation is apparently lacking. We find President Lincoln criticized for continually interfering with his generals and frequently changing them. After the initial disaster of Bull Run, the government and the people began to realize that they were confronted with a real war and that time must be taken to organize an effective army. This enterprise proceeded apace under a great organizing genius, General McClellan. But early in 1862, we find the President presuming to differ with his chosen general as to a purely military question, the choice of a plan of campaign. The President thinks that the general should move straight to the front toward Johnston's army which covers Richmond. The general prefers to shift his base down Chesapeake Bay and to advance on Richmond by the side door. The President reluctantly yields to the superior wisdom of the trained soldier and gives his consent with the proviso that Washington be adequately guarded. When he finds that this precaution has been neglected, the President withholds troops that the general had expected to employ in his campaign. After fierce fighting on the Peninsula, McClellan finally shifts his army to the James. Then his army, within striking distance of Petersburg and Richmond, is recalled, and its divisions are turned over to a new commander, General Pope. When Pope is defeated and the army thrown back on Washington in confusion, the President restores McClellan to command. Here again the general's organizing genius asserts itself. The defeated army recovers its lost morale. McClellan checks Lee's promising invasion of Maryland, but allows him to escape after the battle of Antietam. Then the President relieves McClellan finally and selects Burnside, who suffers defeat in a hopeless attack at Fredericksburg. Then General Hooker has his chance. He crosses the Rapidan in a superb maneuver only to be defeated and to fall back before inferior forces under Lee. As Hooker advances to counter Lee's new invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania, he, too, is relieved on the eve of battle and General Meade commands at Gettysburg.

Again Lee is allowed to escape with his beaten forces. The inactivity of the Eastern Army continues to such an extent that a little later Lee is able to detach Longstreet and send him west to take part in the battle of Chickamauga. But on the day of indecisive Gettysburg news comes that after a brilliant campaign, General Grant has captured Vicksburg. A little later he restores the western situation in the battle of Chattanooga. A new commander with the knack of victory has arrived. This is the beginning of the end. The next year all of the armies are coordinated under Grant's command, the President no longer interferes with his military chief, and early the next year the final victory comes.

The customary summary of this record is given by the British General Lord Wolseley. In his introduction to Colonel Henderson's Life of Stonewall Jackson, he says: "In the first three years of the Secession War, when Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Stanton practically controlled the movements of the Federal forces, the Confederates were generally successful. * * * * The northern prospects did not begin to brighten until Mr. Lincoln, in March, 1864, with that unselfish intelligence which distinguished him, abdicated his military functions in favor of General Grant."

The inference is that Abraham Lincoln for three years deliberately retained the details of military command in his own hands, that this was the cause of continued but unnecessary failure and defeat, and that when he abandoned this foolish policy and gave the command to a general every thing worked smoothly and the war proceeded to a victorious conclusion.

This much may be said, that if President Lincoln had selected and supported a competent commander in 1861, as President Wilson did in 1917, the potential superiority of the North must have manifested itself in earlier victory. But why didn't he do it? Was it because he assumed the unfamiliar burden and responsibility of military command from choice? Was it because he had a weakness of character or an over-weening conceit that impelled him to interfere with competent subordinates? If so, this did not manifest itself in other branches of his administration. There is no record of interference with the brilliant and decisive operations of the Navy in effecting the blockade and in securing command of the Mississippi and its tributaries. There is no record of interference with Chase in his brilliant conduct of the War Finances. There is no record, except once, of material interference with Seward's conduct of our foreign policy.

Why did not President Lincoln select and support a competent general in 1861 as President Wilson did in 1917? The answer is that he did make such a selection. On the advice of General Scott, who was himself too infirm for further active duty, President Lincoln did select an officer eminently qualified in character, intellect and experience for high command. His

nominee, Colonel Robert E. Lee, had served on General Scott's staff in Mexico where he had established a brilliant record for exceptional military capacity and gallantry. He was the only officer, still in his prime, who had important experience in dealing with the problems pertaining to an army headquarters in war. That General Lee did not accept the command of the Union armies was not President Lincoln's fault. But that the President was capable of picking a good general when he had one to pick is fully confirmed by General Lee's subsequent record in council and on the field of battle.

That the North should lose and the South should gain the only available officer prepared by experience for high command was a serious handicap that might in itself account for most of President Lincoln's troubles in the first two years of the war. But this situation was aggravated by a further handicap. As we shall presently see, the South also gained the only man in America who had prepared himself for command through long years of concentrated scientific study of the art of troop leading. There were brilliant young officers in the old army who had had valuable experience as subalterns in Mexico. But there was nothing in the routine of the old army in time of peace to prepare an officer for the conduct of war on a large scale. There was no system of military schools such as Leavenworth and the War College in those days and the isolated one company post of the old Indian Frontier was a poor place with meagre facilities for encouraging scholarship. Most of the officers were absorbed in the routine duties and the pleasures of the frontier, and probably few of them brooded much because officers in those days didn't have to go to school. But there was one queer, rather eccentric subaltern of the old army who did want to study his profession. After his service in Mexico he found little to stimulate or amuse him in his old time garrison life. This was Lieutenant Thomas Jonathan Jackson. He carried his eccentricity so far that he deliberately resigned from the army in order to have a chance to study military art. He settled down as a professor at the Virginia Military Institute, where he devoted his leisure to the study of Presbyterian theology and Napoleon's Campaigns. He did not merely read the Campaigns. He studied Napoleon's technique and practical business methods, just how he wrote his orders and why, just how he read his maps, just how he supplied his men, just how he stimulated their morale, just how he employed his artillery, just how he conducted his reconnaissance, just how he regulated his marches. In short, he studied the technical practical business of war. Stonewall Jackson was thus the first American to graduate from a modern War College. It is true that he was at once the faculty and the class, but no War College ever had a better curriculum or a higher percentage of distinguished alumni.

In considering the brilliant operations of the Army of Northern Virginia, we can scarcely overestimate the influence of the close contact between Lee and Jackson. In the one, genius and character were tempered by experience, and in the other, genius and character were refined by scientific study. This is a most formidable partnership for the conduct of war. For a long time it was enough in itself to balance the numerical odds against the Southern cause.

When Robert E. Lee finally decided to go with his native state, President Lincoln had no other chance to pick a general prepared either by experience or specific training for the conduct of military operations on a large scale. There was no such person in the Union Armies. He could have no general until a general could be trained for him in the costly school of war. He was willing enough to delegate the responsibility when this man should arrive and he was always on the lookout for him. But until he did arrive, he must himself bear the burden of supreme command that the Constitution imposed upon him. He could delegate that responsibility, but heavy as it was he could not shirk it simply because it was heavy. Why did he not select Grant in 1861? It may be asked. Because the Grant of 1861 was not the Grant of 1863. Both Grant and McClellan were untrained in the art and technique of troop leading in 1861. But an army had to be organized before battles could be won, and it is doubtful whether anybody had higher organizing genius than McClellan. President Lincoln fully recognized this and gave McClellan the fullest credit for it even after he became convinced that he lacked what the Germans call the will to victory. That General Grant did have the will to conquer was his outstanding characteristic when he first emerged at Fort Donelson. Abraham Lincoln, looking at the inner meaning of war, valued that trait as the pearl of great price. A little later when Grant was temporarily under a cloud and his enemies sought his removal, the President said, "But I can't spare that fellow. He fights." It is fortunate for Grant that he was not called to supreme command until his progressive schooling was complete.

The history of the Civil War shows that soldiers can be trained for effective fighting long before their officers can be trained for effective leadership. The highest test of true discipline is capacity to endure losses. No soldiers ever stood a more severe application of this test than the Federal soldiers at Antietam in September of 1862. But spite of this splendid fighting capacity, the higher leadership was so uncoordinated and undeveloped that even superior numbers and superior equipment failed to secure a decisive victory over Lee.

This brings us to another remarkable contrast between the Civil War and the World War. St. Mihiel also was fought in September. Like Antietam, it was fought seventeen months after war began and about a year after military organization

was seriously under way. But while Antietam was a bungled and uncontrolled battle so far as higher leadership is concerned, at St. Mihiel a much larger American army, in its first fight, won a beautifully coordinated attack against a powerful system of German intrenchments. The American soldiers at St. Mihiel did no better fighting than their grandfathers did at Antietam. The difference was that there was an effective trained leadership and general staff organization at St. Mihiel which was totally lacking in the Northern Army in 1862.

This great difference between the Civil War and the World War is due to the wisdom and foresight of Elihu Root who organized our general staff system and developed our schools of military application during his term as Secretary of War in President Roosevelt's first administration. Most of our leaders and higher staff officers in the World War were directly or indirectly the product of these reforms. We went into the Civil War without an army and also without a trained overhead competent to lead an army. The war was prolonged because many of its earlier battles were indecisive maneuvers in which men suffered and died not for victory but that their leaders might learn to lead. We also went into the World War without an Army, but we did have a trained army overhead competent to train an army and to lead it when trained. The leaders and staff officers of the World War had also had their Bull Runs and Antietams, but due to the wise provision of Elihu Root they had been able to write them in ink instead of writing them in blood. Secretary Root saw to it that our future Stonewall Jacksons need not resign from the army in order to study the art of war.

At this point it will be well to consider another initial advantage that the South had over the North. When the Southern Army was organized the experienced officers who came to it from the old regular army were spread over the whole force which was thus leavened with such military experience and training as was available. The North did not adopt this sensible policy. A large number of the available veterans were absorbed in a foolish and unnecessary increase of the Regular Army. Indeed, in 1861, General Grant condemned this plan and recommended the contrary policy of disbanding the Regular Army and spreading its trained personnel as a leaven over the great national army of volunteers. When the new volunteer regiments were forming in the spring of 1861, many Northern governors asked the War Department for trained officers to command them. The ill-advised expansion of the Regular Army made it impossible to grant these requests. If later there were too many inexperienced political generals in the federal forces it was largely because the governors were forced to appoint inexperienced political colonels in 1861.

We may now begin to consider the real nature of the war problem that confronted Abraham Lincoln. He, an unskilled ci-

vilian, was forced to conduct a great war without the aid of trained commanders and trained staffs. He was forced to coordinate separate armies operating in several wide and different theatres of war. He was forced to exercise that function of supreme command which is involved in combining the efforts of the Navy and the land forces. He was forced without the stimulus or the immediate hope of victory to develop and keep up an effective war spirit in a divided, inexperienced and undisciplined people. He must not be judged as the civil head of a government free to act through competent delegated military agencies. He was not in that position until 1864. If we would appraise his military genius and achievement we must consider it in the light of the actual task imposed upon him.

In the first place he soon came to understand and master the fundamental nature of war. With his wonderful capacity for concentration and analysis he penetrated its outer semblances and got at its real nature. Among the books that he read and understood was von Clausewitz's great treatise on the fundamental nature of war. Most German scientific books are difficult to read but Clausewitz is probably the most abstruse and involved of all German treatises. It is astonishing to think that an unschooled civilian absorbed in great executive responsibility could dig into this turgid mass and master it. But Mr. Lincoln's intellectual ascendancy was the result of a life time habit of self education under difficulties. We are familiar with the miracle of his literary supremacy. When we realize that this man who had had but twelve scattered months of schooling could eventually compose the most severely chaste prose eloquence in our language, we should not be surprised at other manifestations of his supreme intellectual power. In this connection Lord Charnwood calls attention to his deliberate self culture in the interval of political inactivity between 1849 and 1854. In this connection, he says:

"There was, however, one methodic discipline, highly commended of old but seldom perhaps seriously pursued with the like object by men of forty, even self-taught men, which he did pursue. Some time during these years he mastered the first six books of Euclid. It would probably be no mere fancy if we were to trace certain effects of this discipline upon his mind and character. The faculty which he had before shown of reducing his thought on any subject to the simplest and plainest terms possible, now grew so strong that few men can be compared with him in this."

It is interesting to reflect that about the time that Stonewall Jackson was schooling himself for war in the little town of Lexington, Virginia, Abraham Lincoln also was schooling himself for the same war in the little town of Springfield, Illinois.

The central idea in Clausewitz's book is the profoundly simple one that war is merely a special violent form of political

action and not a separate thing in itself. This implies that generals and armies are merely the instruments by means of which, under certain conditions, statesmen must attain purely political ends. Many statesmen and many generals have failed in the conduct of war because they did not understand the significance of this great principle. I have not been able to determine when Lincoln began his study of Clausewitz, but on May 7th, 1861, less than a month after the fall of Fort Sumter, he said:

"For my own part, I consider the central idea pervading this struggle is the necessity that is upon us of proving that popular government is not an absurdity. We must settle this question now, whether in a free government, the minority have the right to break up the government when they choose. If we fail, it will go far to prove the incapability of the people to govern themselves."

Thus at the very beginning while surrounded by every confusion of thought and purpose, he had unerringly pointed out the underlying political significance of the approaching struggle. I doubt if he had read Clausewitz at that time. But if not, it is certain that his intellect was prepared to receive the teaching of the great military philosopher who first deduced the true principles that govern the application of military forces toward political ends. Lincoln thus stood as he had stood at the beginning of the political campaign of 1858 when he had said:

"If we could first know where we are and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do and how to do it."

It is also apparent that President Lincoln followed Clausewitz from his fundamental premises through their application to the great principles of strategy and combat. In his correspondence with McClellan in the spring of 1862, on the advantages and disadvantages of the proposed Peninsula Campaign there are unmistakable signs of the Clausewitzian influence. Not a mere use of the language but a firm grasp of the simple principles that underlie the complexities of war. McClellan does not want to advance directly against Johnston because he knows that Johnston is strongly intrenched and because he quite erroneously estimates that Johnston has superior numbers. President Lincoln modestly expresses the fear that his general will encounter the same enemy behind the same intrenchments when he reaches the new theatre of war. He also suggests that in his proposed line of advance, the Army of the Potomac will not only lengthen and complicate its communications but will no longer cover Washington and the hostile approaches to Maryland and Pennsylvania. If the correspondence contains internal evidence that the statesman had pondered the great philosopher of modern war, I am unable to find any traces of the same influence upon the language or the mind of the general.

Clausewitz's definition of war as a phase of political action also suggests that as wars are conducted to gain the aims of

statesmanship, so the general must obtain the means of conducting war from the statesman. It is therefore not only the duty but the interest of a wise general to maintain harmonious relations with the head of the State and to welcome a mutual understanding. If this relation did not exist between Lincoln and McClellan it was McClellan's fault. On the evening of November 13th, 1861, the President went with Secretary Seward and John Hay to see the General at his house. McClellan was out. When he came in he was told by the porter that the President was waiting to see him. He passed the door where the President and the Secretary of State were seated and went upstairs. They waited about half an hour, and once more sent a servant to tell the General they were there. The answer came that General McClellan had gone to bed. On the way home when Hay spoke to the President about the incident, he simply said that it was better in such times not to be making points of etiquette and personal dignity. On another occasion when the General failed to keep an appointment with the President, he said, "Never mind. I will hold McClellan's horse if he will only bring us success."

Unfortunately for General McClellan, he did not perceive the true relation between the civil and the military power in the democratic State. He considered that the President's legitimate and necessary interest in military operations was an improper interference in his sphere as a commander. No hope of success could be founded upon such a relation but it is an astonishing proof of President Lincoln's patience and forbearance that he did not permit his personal feelings to influence his attitude toward General McClellan until he had given him every chance to succeed. He continued to hold McClellan's horse for more than a year.

General McClellan was a great organizer. He was called to high command before he was trained for it either by experience or by scientific study. But he had more fundamental defects of intellect and character. He suffered from the chronic delusion that he was always outnumbered. He lacked the instinct of appraising the enemy's situation that is so characteristic of all great commanders. Grant relates that on his first engagement he was disturbed by misgivings as to his own situation until it suddenly dawned upon him that his opponent also was probably having troubles of his own. The morning after the battle of Antietam, General Lee prepared to resume the fight with his shattered forces though in a dangerous position with his back toward a broad and treacherous river. At this time General McClellan had superior forces including 26,000 fresh troops present or within call. No general ever had a greater chance of decisive victory. But he did not seize it. In accounting for Lee's audacity on this occasion, the Confederate General, E. P. Alexander says,

"Lee, alone, was unmoved. He had read McClellan's inmost soul and knew that he was not to be feared." The following night, Lee withdrew his shattered army and was permitted to cross the Potomac unpursued.

Abraham Lincoln also had read McClellan's soul. Through his strong common sense fortified by his scientific study of the inner nature of war, President Lincoln had grasped the great but simple Napoleonic principle that wars are won by seeking and winning battles and not by maneuvering for positions. He therefore could not delegate his responsibility as the constitutional commander-in-chief until he could find a general fit by training and character to conduct war in that way. In the meantime, the war was a fact and not a theory. It had to go on and he had to bear the burden of control and responsibility. So much for the legend that President Lincoln prolonged the war by needless interference with competent generals who otherwise might have ended it.

An earlier generation criticized Mr. Lincoln on the ground that he played politics in the conduct of the Civil War. This is true and he won the war because he played his politics supremely well. But he did not put the politics in the war. The war grew out of politics in the first place. It could not be sustained except by politics and its true military objectives were determined by political aims. Let us take the question of slavery for example. Both Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis knew that slavery was the underlying issue but neither of them mentioned slavery in their first practical statements of the objects of the war. Lincoln stressed the Union and Davis stressed independence. Davis could not avow slavery because that would destroy his hope of foreign intervention. Lincoln could not assail slavery because that would drive the border states out of the Union and into the Confederacy, and also shatter his precarious political footing in the North. The ultimate extinction of slavery was always in Mr. Lincoln's mind as a primary objective of the war, but he finally approached emancipation, not as a moral issue, but purely as a war measure. And for the moment it was decidedly a politician's emancipation. It was to apply only in enemy territory where he could not make it effective. But this was just enough to destroy any chance of foreign intervention and not quite enough to alienate the border states. It was quite enough to satisfy England but not enough to irritate Kentucky. For the moment he preserved slavery for his friends while he destroyed it for his enemies. And it was good politics at a time when the very prosecution of the war depended upon politics. In the Congressional elections of 1862 shortly after he signed the Emancipation Proclamation, the administration lost heavily in New York, Pennsylvania and the Middle West. It was only by gains in the border states that the President preserved a majority essential to the further conduct of the war.

Since the World War there has been a growing controversy in Great Britain bearing upon the proper relations between the civil and military authority in the modern state. One of the interesting aspects of this controversy has been a new interest in President Lincoln's conduct of the Civil War. More and more his record is being studied by those who seek to determine the true place of military institutions in the democratic state. The new verdict is quite different from that which Lord Wolseley gave thirty years ago when he wrote the introduction to Henderson's Stonewall Jackson.

In one of these books, "Statesmen and Soldiers of the Civil War" by General Maurice, we find Lincoln, the civilian, held up as a model war executive, while Jefferson Davis, the trained soldier, is presented as the perniciously meddlesome war President. In an introduction to another book, "The Perils of Amateur Strategy," by General Ellison, Lord Esher mentions Lincoln with the elder Pitt and even with Napoleon as an example of supreme capacity for the conduct of war. Another new English book by General Colin R. Ballard fully justifies its remarkable title, "The Military Genius of Abraham Lincoln."

As I come back occasionally to the home of my boyhood, I recognize a gradually growing sanctity in the atmosphere of this town. This may not be so apparent to my old friends who have always lived here. This sanctity grows with the ever growing fame of Abraham Lincoln. We have lived to see a time when Springfield-on-Sangamo is beginning to stand with Stratford-on-Avon as a shrine to the supreme genius of the English speaking peoples.

THE EARLY IRISH OF ILLINOIS.

By Judge John P. McGoorty,
Of the Superior Court of Cook County.

Men of the Irish race played an important part in the history of Illinois.

During the French occupation it was an Irishman who commanded the Illinois country, vested with almost vice-regal power, in the name of King Louis of France. He was known as Chevalier Charles MacCarthy. He was born in Ireland in 1706 and was there known as "MacCarthy MacTaig," which means literally, "MacCarthy, the son of Taig or Thaddeus." He was an officer in the French army, and in 1731 was sent to Louisiana in charge of a detachment of engineers. On the 20th of August, 1751, MacCarthy sailed from New Orleans with a small military force to take command of and rebuild Fort Chartres. They arrived at Fort Chartres on March 28, 1752, and from that time until 1760 Chevalier MacCarthy was in command of all the French troops in the Illinois country. When, under his direction, Fort Chartres was rebuilt, it was regarded as the best fort in America. In 1757, when it was reported that the English contemplated descending the Tennessee River for the purpose of attacking the French posts on the Mississippi, MacCarthy sent Lieutenant Aubry to construct a fort on the Ohio River, which he named Fort Ascencion "as a memorial of the day on which the first stone was laid"; but in history it became known as Fort Massac. As a result of the protection afforded by the proximity of Fort Chartres, numerous villages and settlements sprang up on both sides of the Mississippi River. "Most of the people were French Catholics, and here the Jesuit Missionaries established churches and schools, and under the administration of the popular Franco-Irish Governor, the settlements thrived and the people lived in peace with their Indian neighbors." In 1760 MacCarthy was succeeded in the command of Fort Chartres by Captain de Villiers, and thereafter he continued as the head of the civil and military government of the territory until the Treaty of Paris, in 1763, when France surrendered to England all her territory east of the Mississippi. After the war MacCarthy retired to Point Coupee, in the lower Mississippi Valley, west of the river, which territory still remained in the possession of the French. Here he established himself as a trader and gentleman, and seems also to have been commander of the fort. He died at New Orleans April 20, 1764 and was buried with military honors. In the same year the French Government conferred upon MacCarthy the posthumous honor of the Cross of

St. Louis "as a reward for his fidelity and services." (See "The MacCarthys of America," by Michael J. O'Brien.)

Although the British were constructively in possession of the ceded territory, yet for two years thereafter the Indians, under the leadership of the mighty Pontiac, frustrated the repeated efforts of the British to occupy Fort Chartres and the Illinois country. It was due to the diplomacy and tact of Colonel George Croghan, a countryman of MacCarthy, that the British, through negotiation with Pontiac, conducted by Croghan, finally, in 1765, obtained possession. George Croghan was born in County Sligo, Ireland. He was a man of remarkable personality and was referred to "as the fittest person in America" for the undertaking. It is of some interest to note that Sir William Johnson, the Colonial Governor of Indian Affairs, under whose direction Croghan acted, was a native of Smithtown, County Meath, Ireland, and was of the ancient Irish family of McShane. Colonel Croghan was not the last of his line to distinguish his name in this country. His family and that of General George Rogers Clark intermarried and, a direct descendant of Colonel Croghan and of the Clarks by such marriage, Colonel George Croghan became one of the most heroic figures of the War of 1812. Croghan was brevetted Lieutenant-Colonel for gallant conduct in defending Fort Stephenson, commended by Congress for bravery, and Croghan and Joseph Duncan, who became the fifth governor of Illinois, were each presented by Congress with a sword.

Hugh Crawford, according to his own statement, must have been the first Irishman that traveled about the Illinois and Mississippi rivers. He claims to have made trading trips on the Ohio and Mississippi as early as 1739. He was associated in trade with Colonel George Croghan and took an active part in the negotiations with Pontiac. Crawford made a trip to the Western country in the interest of George Washington with a view to land investments. He died in 1770.

After the Treaty of Paris and the cession of New France to England, Guy Carlton, an Irishman, became the governor under the English Crown. After Colonel George Croghan succeeded in securing the possession stipulated for in the treaty, the 18th, or Royal Regiment of Ireland, garrisoned the forts in the Illinois country until a local militia force was organized under the command of Captain Richard McCarthy, who later made a brilliant record under George Rogers Clark.

The conquest of the Illinois territory from the British, one of the most brilliant achievements of the Revolution, was carried out by Colonel George Rogers Clark.

Clark's army, made up chiefly from the country west of the Alleghany Mountains, consisted largely of men of Irish blood. The muster-rolls of his companies are replete with old Irish names. Wm. H. English, author of the "Conquest of the Northwest Territory," says: "Had it not been for the Irish in Clark's command, the latter would never have whipped the British and Indians; the Irish, fresh from persecutions in the Old Country, were very bitter against the English and were of great help to Clark." In his own written account of the expedition, Colonel Clark mentioned among his valued officers Captains McCarty, Quirk, Carney, O'Hara, "Captain Montgomery, a gallant Irishman," and Lieutenant Dalton..

When Clark planned the conquest of Vincennes, he organized two companies of troops—one at Kaskaskia, the other at Cahokia. The company from Cahokia was placed under the command of Captain Richard McCarthy, who gallantly led them in their most trying march to Vincennes. McCarthy remained in command of the troops after the country came under the possession of Virginia. He recruited the troops at his own expense and bore all the expense of maintaining them on the promise that he would be repaid, which promise was not fulfilled.

Clark's ancestry remains in some doubt. William H. English, in his "Conquest of the Northwest," says: "The history of the remote ancestry of George Rogers Clark on the father's side is meager, vague and unsatisfactory. Back of his grandfather is only tradition; but this tradition seems clear and positive that his paternal ancestor, who first came to this country, emigrated from England, and that his name was John. From what part of England this John Clark came, or who were his ancestors there is no reliable information." Temple Bodley, the most recent biographer of George Rogers Clark (1926), says: "It is almost impossible to trace the remote ancestry of one bearing a name common to so many families as Clark. Of the European forbears of the family we only know that their surname shows them English." That the foregoing conclusion is not warranted is shown by the fact that many Irish families bear the name of Clark or Clarke. In the reigns of the Henrys and Edwards of England, many penal acts of Parliament were passed compelling the ancient Irish families to adopt English surnames; notably the act of Edward IV. The name of O'Clery was changed to "Clark," for in the Irish language O'Clery means literally the "grandson of a clerk." MacRory became "Rogers," because Roger was assumed to be the English Christian name corresponding to the Irish "Rory." The Scotch-Irish Society claims that he is of Ulster blood. McDougal says in his "Scots and Scots' Descendants in America," (Vol. I, p. 54): "John Clark, great-grandfather of General George Rogers Clark, came to Virginia in 1630 from the southwestern part of Scotland." Gray, however, in his "Scotch-Irish in America," says: "Clark was the son of an Irishman."

It is interesting to note that when Clark was given authority to make a conquest of the Northwest, Virginia had no money, but appealed to Oliver Pollock, who proved one of the greatest benefactors of America—justly called "the Morris of the West" —who, through his friend, Count Alexander O'Reilly, the Irish Governor of Cuba, obtained the credit necessary to prosecute Clark's campaign. Oliver Pollock of New Orleans was not only

a distinguished Irishman, but such an enthusiastic supporter of the American cause as to advance many thousands of dollars of his own funds for its success. He was the son of Jared Pollock, who moved from Coleraine, Ireland, to Pennsylvania.

Temple Bodley, in his recent history, "George Rogers Clark, His Life and Public Service," p. 78, says: "Two weeks after taking Kaskaskia, Clark opened correspondence with a man to whom Americans should be forever grateful. This was Oliver Pollock, the financial agent in New Orleans for both Virginia and Congress. An Irish Catholic, he was one of those big-minded and big-hearted men who realized the transcendent importance of the American struggle for liberty and national greatness, and was animated by an ardent patriotism, which, reckless of self-interest, gladly made any personal sacrifice demanded for his country. His services in upholding the Revolution in the west were invaluable. That such a man should be almost wholly unknown to the nation he served so well is hardly creditable to American history."

The name of John Todd is inseparably connected with the history of Illinois. It will be remembered that the conquest of the Illinois country was not for the United States, but for Virginia, which claimed all of the vast territory north and west of the Ohio River. John Todd was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the military forces and also civil commandant of the county. His appointment came from Patrick Henry, Governor of Virginia, another Irishman. It has been attempted to show that Patrick Henry was not Irish. The ancestral home of his family is at Tuba More, near Draperston, County Derry, Ireland, where representatives of the family still live. Patrick Henry's letter accompanying the appointment is a splendid exposition of this great revolutionary patriot's ideas upon government. Governor Henry's instructions were, in a sense, the basic law for the territory during the Virginia period. Upon Todd's arrival in Kaskaskia in 1779, the inhabitants were assembled and elections held for judges of the courts established. As this was virtually the foundation of self-government in Illinois, the meeting has special significance. After the election the court was completed by the appointment of a sheriff, state's attorney and Clerk of the court. Thus began popular government, according to the American form, on the soil of Illinois. Courts were also established at Cahokia and Vincennes. John Todd was the son of David Todd and Hannah Owen Todd, who came from Ireland. John Todd had two brothers, one of whom, Levi Todd, became a general in the Revolutionary War. Mrs. Ninian W. Edwards and Mary Todd Lincoln, the wife of Abraham Lincoln, were descended from this branch of the Todd family. General Levi Todd's daughter, Hannah, was the mother of Hon. John T. Stuart, who was one of Lincoln's earliest and most distinguished Springfield friends. His son, Robert Todd, was the father of Mrs. Ninian W. Edwards, Mrs. William S. Wallace, Mrs. C. M. Smith and Mrs. Abraham Lincoln, all of Springfield, Illinois.

(Note.—"The first white settlement on the site of the present city of Springfield was made in 1819, principally by a large family by the name of Kelley, from Rutherford County, North Carolina. It appears that Elisha

Kelley, a bachelor hunter, who had come to Illinois as early as 1817, first visited the Sangamo country in 1818, and finding this locality abounding in game and therefore a good hunting ground, he decided to make it his home. He accordingly returned to North Carolina and induced his father, Henry Kelley, and his four brothers, John, Elijah, William and George, and one or two other families * * * to emigrate to Illinois, and unite with him in establishing a settlement where Springfield now is. The Kelley families are said to have arrived here in the Spring of 1819, after having wintered in Macoupin County. John Kelley, the eldest of the brothers, erected his cabin at or near the northwest corner of the present Jefferson and Klein streets. Another member of the Kelley family built a short distance west of the first, and a third brother, William Kelley, reared his cabin near the intersection of North Third and Pine streets. Andrew Elliott, the son-in-law of William Kelley, located to the northwest of him, while Jacob and Levi Ellis settled nearer Spring Creek. These rude log cabins constituted the first white habitations on the site of the older portion of the present city * * * In January, 1821, the State General Assembly passed an act creating the county of Sangamon. In the following April the county commissioners, provided for in said act, met at the house of John Kelley and fixed upon a certain point in the prairie, near the corner of Mr. Kelley's field, on the tributary waters of Spring Creek, as the temporary seat of justice of said county—the same to be called and known as 'Springfield'." "Past and Present of Sangamon County, Illinois," by Joseph Wallace, M. A. of the Springfield Bar. Pub. 1904. Vol. I, Chap. 1, p. 5; 6.)

(Note.—"The names of the settlers residing within the distance of two miles from the stake which had been set to mark a temporary county seat for Sangamon County, to be named Springfield * * * were John Kelley, William Kelley, Andrew Elliott, Jacob Ellis, Levi Ellis, John Lindsay, Abraham Lanterman, Mr. Dagget and Samuel Little * * * I first boarded with John Kelley, a North Carolinian and a widower. His household consisted of himself and two children, two younger brothers, George and Elisha, his aged father and mother and myself." "Early Life and Times," by Major Elijah Iles; p. 31.)

The number of Irish in the territory increased somewhat during the British ascendancy in Illinois. William and Daniel Murray were worthy Irishmen and traders of a high type. Alvord says of William Murray: "In the annals of the West the names of such men as Samuel Wharton, Phinneas Lyman, George Morgan, William Murray, Richard Henderson and George Washington should occupy a conspicuous place." It appears from the entry on the parish records that on the 29th day of November, 1778, Helene Murray was baptized, the daughter of Daniel Murray and Sarah Gerrault Murray, his wife, and that amongst the signatories of the record were Daniel Murray, the father, Sarah Gerrault Murray, the mother, Colonel George Rogers Clark, Commandant-in-Chief of the forces of Virginia in the Illinois country, and other distinguished men of the locality.

Another worthy Irishman of this period was William Arundel, who was born in Ireland and came to Cahokia prior to the Clark conquest. During a part of his residence in the Illinois country, he lived near Peoria. He was a merchant and trader and is spoken of as "an orderly, moral and correct man." He died in Kaskaskia in 1816.

There were few people of other than French blood in the Illinois country earlier than Patrick Kennedy. In 1773 Kennedy made an expedition up the Illinois River in search of copper mines. The journal kept by Kennedy on this trip was published by Gilbert Imlay in his topographical description of the Western Territory of North America. Kennedy and the Murrays were ardent patriots in the American cause, and Patrick Kennedy was at once appointed Quartermaster-General upon Clark's taking possession of Illinois.

Thomas Brady was a conspicuous figure in this early day. In 1776, Brady, with a small company of volunteers, consisting of sixteen men, marched across the state to the nearest British fort on Lake Michigan (Fort St. Joseph) near the present city of Niles, Michigan, and surprised and captured the fort, securing, it is said, $50,000 worth of supplies and munitions. The victors seem, however, to have overlooked a point or two in their subsequent proceedings. They paroled the British garrison, but the English, ignoring their pledges, informed their Indian allies, and together they and their allies overpowered Brady's force, took them prisoners, and recovered the goods somewhere near the present site of Chicago. In turn, however, the goods were recaptured from the British by a force which left Peoria soon after, led by Maillet, who was a relative of some of Brady's followers. Brady escaped his captors and returned by a circuitous route to Kaskaskia, where he afterward married the much-renowned and highly-respected Widow La Compte, and in 1790 became the sheriff of St. Clair County, then one of the highest positions available to any citizen. Reynolds says of Brady: "He had the reputation of an honest, correct citizen and I believe he deserved it." Brady was a judge of the court of Cahokia in 1785, was Indian Commissioner in 1787 and in that capacity prohibited the sale of liquor to the Indians. The town, now city of East St. Louis (Illinoistown) was laid out on a part of his land.

Many of the soldiers who fought under Clark formed the earliest settlements in Illinois following the close of the American Revolution. Some of the early settlements in Monroe, Randolph and St. Clair counties were almost wholly Irish. The Bradsbys, Whitesides, Ryans and Bradys were prominent among the hardy pioneers when Illinois was in the making.

The "American Bottom," first named when Shadrach Bond and some others settled in Illinois, contained, according to Reynolds, probably three-fourths of the American population of the Illinois territory. It included Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and nearly all of the early French settlements, extending from Alton almost to Chester. The presence there of people of Irish blood is suggested when Reynolds states in his Pioneer History of Illinois that the dear old Irish song, entitled "Willy Reilly," was most popular.

The Plum Creek settlement east of the Kaskaskia River in Randolph County was a vigorous and influential Irish community, from which have sprung many of the leading citizens of the county. They came from Abbeyville, South Carolina, and were known in Randolph County as the "South Carolina Irish". James Patterson was the pioneer of this settlement. His father was born in Ireland, came to America, and fought under Washington. How numerous the Irish were in Illinois during that period is evidenced by the number of land grants given to heads of families bearing old Irish names.

Prior to 1783 the Flannery family settled in the American Bottom and built a block-house, or fort, on the main road from Kaskaskia to Cahokia. James Flannery, in conjunction with the McElmuny family, built a station fort in 1783 on the Mississippi opposite Island 22.

The Whiteside family was one of the most numerous and worthy families that ever settled in Illinois. William Whiteside was the patriarch and revered leader of the family. He was a brave soldier in the Revolutionary War and fought in the celebrated battle of Kings Mountain. His brother John was also in the Revolution. The Whitesides were of Irish descent and, it has been remarked, inherited much of the Irish character. They were warm-hearted impulsive and patriotic. To quote from Reynolds: "Their friends were always right and their foes wrong. If a Whiteside took your hand you had his heart. He would shed his blood freely for his country or his friends." William Whiteside built a fort on the road between Cahokia and Kaskaskia, which became known widely as Whiteside Station. John, his brother, resided at Bellefountaine until his death. Both men raised large families, nearly all of whom became prominent in the early history of Illinois.

An Irishman named Halfpenny was one of the very earliest school teachers. Reynolds, in his Pioneer History, confers upon Halfpenny the title of "Schoolmaster-general of Illinois of his day."

Halfpenny, it seems, began teaching at a very early day, somewhere near 1785, and taught school throughout the entire period in the early settlements. It is said that he taught almost all American children in Illinois of his day that received any education at all. We find that after some years, in 1795, Halfpenny built a water-mill on Fountaine Creek, not far from the present town of Waterloo. In those days the builder of a mill was a real benefactor and was entitled to and received credit and honor second only to the brave men who defended the homes of the settlers against the incursions of their red enemies. It is a matter of regret that so little is preserved of the life of this almost first school teacher in Illinois. A man named John Seeley and another named Francis Clark are said to have preceded Halfpenny as school teachers, but their terms of service were

short and the number of pupils taught by them few as compared to that of Halfpenny. Reynolds says: "In the settlement of the New Design, an Irishman called Halfpenny at this period (1800) instructed some few pupils. This school was the only one among the Americans at this day."

John Doyle, another early teacher, was one of Clark's soldiers, and soon after the Clark conquest of 1778 settled in Illinois. He had a family and resided in or near Kaskaskia. He was a scholar, spoke the French language and Indian dialects and frequently acted as an interpreter. Doyle was one of the very earliest school teachers in the country. He, in connection with Pickett, Seybold, Groots, Hildebrand, Dodge, Camp, Tiel, Curry, Lunceford, Anderson, Pagon, Hughes and Montgomery, established the colony on the east side of the Kaskaskia River near the old town of Kaskaskia in 1780. John Doyle's early settlement in the territory is proven by the fact that he was named by the United States Commissioner as one of those entitled to a land grant under an Act of Congress recognizing "Ancient Grants".

Among the men of more than ordinary attainments in the early settlements was James Hughes, who was a teacher of mathematics as early as 1800. It was from Hughes that Governor Reynolds first came to know anything of mathematics.

William Bradsby, whose father was born in Ireland, came to the Illinois country in 1804. He was a talented man and taught school in various localities in the new country. He had a school in the American Bottom directly west of the present city of Collinsville, and in 1807, he taught school in the Turkey Hill settlement founded by William Scott, the sturdy pioneer Irishman. Bradsby remained a teacher for several years.

James Moore, who came to the Illinois territory with Shadrach Bond, Sr., and others, seems to have the distinction of being the first foreigner naturalized in the territory of Illinois. In the record book of Colonel John Todd, the county lieutenant under Patrick Henry, is found the naturalization oath which James Moore subscribed. It reads as follows: "I do swear by the holy evangelists of Almighty God that I renounce all fidelity to George III, King of Great Britain, his heirs and successors, and that I will bear true allegiance to the United States of America as free and independent as declared by Congress, and that I will not do or cause to be done anything injurious or prejudicial to the independence of said states; that I will make known to some one Justice of the Peace for the United States all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which may come to my knowledge to be directed against the said United States or any one of them. So help me God. Sworn at Kaskaskia, July 10, 1782. James Moore."

Few of the pioneers of Illinois come down to us better recommended than William Scott. He was born of Irish parents

in Botetourt County, Virginia, in 1745. He came to Kaskaskia in 1797. The family of Mr. Scott and his son-in-law, Jarvis, came from Kentucky to Illinois and settled on the prairie which was the first white settlement they saw in this country. Scott remained in Kaskaskia a short time, but Jarvis and his family located themselves at Turkey Hill. Turkey Hill was a conspicuous trading post for the French and Indians. It had been the camping grounds of the Indians for ages, and the traders had met them there with their merchandise and exchanged with them for furs, peltries, etc. The Hill is a commanding situation. It rises to a considerable height and is observable from the east at a distance of thirty or forty miles. The settlement became conspicuous throughout the entire country and Scott was known far and near as "Turkey Hill" Scott. He lived an eventful life of nearly eighty-three years. He was a man of the highest morals and strong character. Scott's death occurred in 1828. He was one of the commissioners to select the county seat of St. Clair county and he settled the plantation of George Blair, the original resident of what is now the site of Belleville.

William Meers was the first resident lawyer of Cahokia. He came to Cahokia in 1808 and engaged in the practice of law. He was born in Ireland in 1768. On coming first to America he located in Philadelphia and taught school for some years in Pennsylvania. He was about forty years of age when he came to Cahokia and his biographer says: "He was as if he dropped from the clouds without a house, clothes, books, letters or anything except himself, a rather singular and uncouth looking Irishman." Like many another lawyer, he read law while he taught school in Pennsylvania and though he began at the bottom, by strict application and diligent study he acquired a profound knowledge of the law and became a learned and intelligent man. He was appointed Attorney General for the territory of Illinois in 1814, and is stated to have been very able and efficient.

John Edgar was the leading citizen of Illinois from the time he came to Kaskaskia in 1784 until his death in 1832, and his wife was the leading lady of the territory during all of her life therein. Not a single chapter, but a volume, should be written of John Edgar and his estimable wife. Edgar and his wife were both born in Ireland. At the outbreak of the American Revolution, Edgar was in the naval service of Great Britain, but left it to champion the American cause. At the time of leaving the service of the British, he was in command of a vessel on the lakes, but he sacrificed his prospects to cast his lot with the Americans in their fight for freedom. His espousal of the American cause gave him serious trouble. At about the time of the outbreak of the war, he was at Detroit, and he and two other Irishmen who became prominent in America were overheard disparaging the war which England was making on America. The other two Irishmen were James Abbott and Robert Forsythe.

Abbott's subsequent life was spent elsewhere, but Robert Forsythe became the founder and leading citizen of Peoria. He was a half brother of John Kinzie, one of the earliest residents of Chicago.

The popularity and respect in which the early citizens held Edgar is indicated by the fact that when the territory was organized by Governor St. Clair, he was elected one of the two members of the first legislature of the Northwest Territory in 1798, and attended the same at Chillicothe, Ohio. He was one of the judges selected for the first court organized in the Northwest Territory and was continuously reelected as Justice of the Peace and Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He was appointed Major General of the United States for the Illinois militia, and was constantly serving the public in some important capacity in which the value of his services far exceeded the emoluments of the offices held by him. The Edgars were always devout Catholics and Mrs. Edgar was in the foreground of every parish movement, ably seconded and supported by her genial and capable husband.

Another distinguished Irishman of that day was Samuel O'Melvany, a native of Ireland and a member of the first Constitutional Convention of Illinois in 1818. Many of his descendants have won distinction and honor in public and private life.

The Casey family has a distinguished history in Illinois. Zadoc Casey, whose father was born in County Tyrone, Ireland, was a member of Congress and piloted through the legislation for the Illinois and Michigan Canal. He was also Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois and for many years a distinguished member of the Illinois General Assembly. Zadoc Casey and his family removed from Tennessee to Illinois in 1817, and settled in Jefferson County, near Mount Vernon, of which he was the founder.

The French had visited and dwelt upon the present site of Chicago before representatives of other races found their way there.

Modern Chicago had its beginning with the building of Fort Dearborn in 1803. The builder and first commander of Fort Dearborn was Captain John Whistler, a native of Ireland. John Kinzie, generally regarded as the first resident of Chicago, arrived there after the fort was established. Whistler, and not Kinzie, was the real father of Chicago. Captain Whistler continued as Commander of Fort Dearborn until 1810. In 1832, his son, Major William Whistler, was in charge of the fort during the Black Hawk War. Six members of the Whistler family were members of the congregation of Old St. Mary's, and Father St. Cyr, the first pastor of Chicago, made his home with Major Whistler and his family until other arrangements were made.

The history of the Irish of early Chicago is most interesting and creditable to the race, and cannot be adequately presented in any paper directed primarily to the story of the Irish while Illinois was in the making.

Any consideration of the Irish of early Illinois should, however, include the names of its earlier governors of Irish blood: Reynolds, Carlin, and Ford, whose careers are too well-known to recount here.

More than a passing tribute, if time permitted, should be paid to Colonel James A. Mulligan, of the Irish Brigade, the hero of Lexington and Winchester, and to General John A. Logan, the Commander of the Army of Tennessee, whose father, Doctor John Logan, came from Ireland early in 1800.

Preeminent among the Irishmen of Illinois is the name of General Shields, born in Ireland. The hero of two wars, United States Senator successively from three states, he came to be regarded as one of the finest examples of pure patriotism that our country has produced. After returning from the Civil War, the States of Illinois and Minnesota each presented him with a jeweled sword. After his death these swords were purchased by the United States Government, and are cherished among the sacred mementos of our heroic dead. His memory was further honored by the State of Illinois as its representative, entitled to a place in the Statuary Hall of our nation's capital. The unveiling of the Shields statue was one of the most notable events that ever took place in Washington.

I wish to acknowledge my appreciation of the valuable cooperation of Joseph J. Thompson, Editor of the Illinois Catholic Historical Review, and Hugh O'Neill, both of Chicago; Michael J. O'Brien, of New York City, historiographer of the American Irish Historical Society, and Miss Georgia L. Osborne, secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society, in preparing this paper.

SOME HALF-FORGOTTEN TOWNS IN ILLINOIS.

By Elbert Waller.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I deeply appreciate the invitation your Secretary gave me to discuss this subject before you today. This is a subject in which I am intensely interested but at best I can give you only a little of it, so without further preliminaries I want to take you on a little mental excursion over the miles and over the years to the founding of the ambitious little city down on the Ohio known as America.

AMERICA.

Nestled in the foothills of the Ozarks about twelve miles up the Ohio from where it flows into the Mississippi is the interesting little pioneer town with name of our continent—America.

It was laid out on a rather pretentious scale in 1818 but at or very near this place there was an old block house of which we have no history. It has sometimes been referred to as Caledonia or as North Caledonia. The fortress, if such it may be called was probably built by Colonel Elias Rector who led a Southern Illinois regiment against the Indians of Illinois in the War of 1812, or it may have been built by people who fled from Tennessee on account of the earthquake of 1811. The First General Assembly of Illinois authorized the cutting of a canal from the Ohio, via Caledonia to the Mississippi.

At the time America was laid out it was in Union County, but in 1819, Alexander County was cut off. America was made the county seat and a brick court house and also a jail of the same kind of material were built and in view of the fact that it was up in the hills secure from overflow and supposed to be secure from ague also, it grew rapidly. However, other settlements sprang up and the people began to leave. The following letter from John Dougherty, dated "America, October 12, 1824," might well apply to many another decaying small town of the present:

"This place (America) becomes more dull every day; we are about to lose what few inhabitants there are in this county, and if we should lose the whole of them it would be of little consequence, as the majority of them are of no advantage to any county. Many families are going out and gone to the South and West, making about one-fourth of the whole; and those better informed on the subject than myself calculate on as many more in their room. May heaven send those of a better quality! I will have to turn to farming or will have to look somewhere else for a living than off this miserable population."

In 1833, the county seat was changed to Unity, which as the name might imply, was near the center of the County. The Court House at Unity with all its records was burned in 1842. The following year, Pulaski County was cut off from Alexander County and America again became a county seat, this time of Pulaski County.

America remained the county seat until 1868 when it was moved to Mound City, since which time it has gradually declined until now its hopes of ever being a great city are gone, but its people still cherish the story of the trials and the triumphs as well as the visions of their fathers as priceless traditions.

Let us now go in imagination to the ambitious old town up in Adams County named for the man who discovered America.

COLUMBUS.

It is not always a question of whether you got licked or not, but how did you fight. That is the way the people of the little town of Columbus feel today for they fought a good fight. What was once the ambitious town of Columbus was located about twenty miles East of North-East of the City of Quincy, Illinois. The first settlement was made in 1830, by James Thomas, a Kentuckian. William Graves had the first survey made and the first plat recorded in 1835, and within a year from then more than a hundred houses were built. A number of families who had a few years before come from North Carolina to Tennessee now came to Columbus. A number of others came from Pennsylvania. From the beginning it was the deliberate aim to make it the county seat of Adams County and it grew like a real boom town.

Daniel Harrison was the first merchant in Columbus and he prospered by "swapping" for most any of the products of field or forest that he could exchange in turn for calico and other things from "back East."

About the year 1835 a Mr. Bartholomew and his two sons, Samuel and Gilead built the first mill in Columbus that was greatly different from the one to which the Savior referred when he said, "Two women shall be found grinding at the mill, etc." It was a saw mill destined to put the old whip saw out of commission. It was also a grist mill where the people gathered to have their corn ground into meal. It was operated by steam but it was not popular because the people were afraid it might "bust."

One of the first carding mills to be erected in Illinois was built in Columbus. It was operated by horse power for a few years but finally a steam engine relieved the horse from the tread mill.

It may seem strange now that in that part of the country they ever made linseed oil, but a mill for that purpose was in operation for about twenty-five years and in fact until the South began to adjust itself after the Civil War.

I think it is true that few pioneer communities were ever better prepared to be independent of all the world than was Columbus. As was said of another community it may be said of them that "They killed their own meat. They raised and ground their own corn. They raised their own sheep and from them and the deer they made their own clothing, so what need had they for money."

Among the first to come to Columbus were people anxious to spread the Gospel among the people. Itinerant Methodist preachers seem to have been the first soon to be followed by several others. In 1836 the Christian Society built the first house of worship. The Presbyterians built one in 1838. The Methodists built one in 1840 and the German Methodists built one in 1842.

Within two years of the establishment of the Community, arrangements had been made for the education of their children. Accordingly, Thomas Bailey began the first school there in the fall of 1832.

Never did a community show a finer spirit of Christian citizenship than did Columbus in the time of the Mormon trouble and in the trying days of the Civil War. The calm, sober thinking of these men and women of North Carolina and Pennsylvania stock did much toward bringing about a settlement of the Mormon outbreak. The positive patriotism and love of liberty for all alike was demonstrated by the fact that in the Civil War they met every call for men and money completely and without delay.

Abraham Jones was a brilliant writer and as a publicity man would qualify to sell Florida real estate. His ambition was to make Columbus a real city, and in spite of its many disadvantages and vicissitudes it seemed he would succeed. To that end he contributed both news and editorials to the press of Quincy. His writings were all gladly accepted with the exception of those that referred to Columbus as a possible contender with Quincy for the county seat. Quincy had good ground to fear a real contest which came in dead earnest in 1840. The press of Quincy showed such an unfriendly attitude that the people of Columbus established the Columbus Advocate under the nominal editorial management of a Mr. Terry, but everyone knew that Abraham Jones dictated its editorial policy and that his brilliant brain was the soul of the contest conducted through it on the county seat question. This paper continued as a power in the community until the fight was over when the press was moved to Nauvoo and with it the enemies of the Mormons began the publication of the Nauvoo Expositor but the Mormons did not believe in "Freedom of the press" and the outfit was destroyed.

At an election held on August 2nd, 1841, to decide whether Quincy or Columbus should be the county seat, Quincy received 1545 votes and Columbus received 1636, thus a majority of 91 votes gave it to Columbus. It was the duty of the County Commissioners to establish the county seat at Columbus, but they

refused to do so. The contest had just begun for Quincy claimed that voters from other counties voted for Columbus and Columbus in turn claimed that people from Missouri voted for Quincy. On the part of Columbus, a peremptory mandamus was issued to compel the County Commissioners to move the county seat to Columbus, but Quincy countered with an injunction which was granted by two judges of the County Court on September 6th, 1841. The third judge dissented in an ably written decision which seems entirely logical. He asked that his decision be made a matter of record and from that we quote, "The County Court has no jurisdiction. There were no precedents to justify it. The allegations were all based on rumors and if they were true they would not be sufficient. The court might under pressure be more likely to be unfair than would the Circuit Court."

Under the leadership of Willard Graves and Nehemiah Bushnell, Columbus appealed the case to the Circuit Court. At the same time the people of Quincy tried a new game, elected Abraham Wheat as Representative in the Legislature and appealed to that body. He introduced a bill to cut off ten townships from the East end of the County and name it Marquette County. The bill provided for an election to be held in Adams County and Marquette County on the First Monday in April, 1842. This bill also provided that School Commissioner, Daniel Harrison; County Commissioner, George Smith; and Coroner, Jonas Grubb; all officers of Adams County who lived in that part cut off in the new County of Marquette should henceforth hold these offices in Marquette County until the expiration of their respective terms of office and that these offices in Adams County are declared vacant. An election was authorized to fill the vacancies in both counties but such election was not held in Marquette County. The three men named above were the only officers Marquette County ever had and they refused to function as such. This bill introduced by Representative Wheat seems to have been a sort of "Omnibus Bill" for Adams County for it provided also that Adams County should have three representatives in the Legislature while it made no provision for even one for Marquette County. However, a constitutional provision gave each county one Senator.

At an election held on August 7th, 1843, Andrew Redman was elected Justice of the Peace of Columbus Township, "Adams County" but County Clerk, Nicholas Wren refused to issue the certificate of election because he did not recognize Columbus as in Adams County. Redman took his case to the Supreme Court to compel Wren to issue the certificate of election but that Court declared, "The County of Marquette was absolutely created by the first section of the act to create the County of Marquette and it was not left optional with the inhabitants to organize or not; but, whether organized or not it was absolutely separated for election purposes from Adams County. The jurisdiction of

Adams County for the purpose of County Government did not extend over the County of Marquette on the 7th day of August, 1843. The application is refused."

Although elections took place at stated times and places, no officers ever qualified and Marquette paid no taxes to State or County for a term of five years. There were no officers of any kind and the people were left to do as they pleased. No tyrant ruled over them but on the other hand freedom was enjoyed and good order prevailed.

In 1846, E. H. Binkley was elected to the Legislature and he introduced a bill to create Highland County. This was to be the same as Marquette County with the exception of the addition of a half of a township. Columbus was to be the county seat until definitely settled by vote of the people, but the people were not satisfied with this and the County of Highland was never organized.

When the Convention met to frame the Constitution of 1848 these delegates studied the whole situation and decided to put the boundaries of Adams County just as they were when it was organized in 1825, thus doing away with Highland County or Marquette County and thus it remains. In the meantime Quincy had outgrown Columbus so that they could always carry an election and at last Columbus gave up the fight for the location of the county seat. They fought a good fight and never lost faith in the justice of their cause.

Today, instead of a county seat town, as they dreamed, or even a town of eight hundred or a thousand people which they had, it is just a little crossroad community of less than a hundred people within the confines of the original town. It is on a hard road but is four miles from a railroad. Fate has dealt severely with them and the dreams of their fathers have never been realized. Even so they are a good people who take a just pride in the history and traditions of their community and are at times prone to gather in the little post office in the store or on the public square and to talk of the fight their fathers made and of what their town might have been.

Let us make a jump again, and this time it is Nauvoo.

NAUVOO.

On the bluffs overlooking the Mississippi, just a few miles above the city of Quincy is the old city of Nauvoo, but this quiet little city gives little evidence of the stirring times of its early days.

This story is not intended primarily to be a history of the Mormons but it is more the intention to tell of how the City became so prominent and then dwindled into comparative insignificance. This City finds its beginning in 1838, when a band of fugitives fled into Illinois, fugitives from justice, followed by a multitude of their credulous believers.

On account of their peculiar doctrine, their large number and their audacious demands of the State, the people all around them were almost frantic. It seems the politicians were afraid of them too, for each party strove to get their good will and finally the Legislature granted them a charter which gave them almost unlimited power, even to maintaining their own militia with the State furnishing the equipment on their requisition. Their power increased and this power unjustly gained was later, as we shall see, mercilessly used.

Unsuspecting people out of a spirit of altruism or hoping to be healed of their own maladies flocked in and "poured in the gold" until there were more than sixteen thousand of them. They prospered for a season. Mills and factories were built. A bank was organized with power to issue its own currency and a university was established on a scale that attracted the attention of the best scholars of the land. They organized the Nauvoo Legion—a military organization the most powerful in the State. They created the office of Lieutenant Governor but the crisis came when, under the guise of religion, many of their misguided people became thieves and counterfeiters. All the surrounding community became thoroughly alarmed and trouble ensued. The Governor is accused of pursuing a vascillating policy and that may be true, but it seems that both sides lost their heads and that he tried in vain to preserve order.

Amid all their troubles the Mormons never lost sight of their one object, namely the building of the Temple of which they claimed that God was their only architect and that He revealed to them day by day what to do. Many people among both friends and foes seemed to think that the completion of the Temple would see them at the zenith of their glory since they had been promised demonstrations of super-natural power at that time and there were even among them "honest doubters." It was completed on May 24th, 1845, amid shouts of "Hosannah to God and to the Lamb." It had cost a million dollars and was the beginning of the end. The promised manifestations of power never came. Strange it was, their leaders became more audacious than ever and put up a wonderful bluff by offering excuses and by threatening to invoke the curse of God on their enemies but,

"Oh what a tangled web we weave
When first we practice to deceive."

They defied the law and the power of the State. They even tried to organize a state of their own and their leader became a candidate for president of the United States but the crisis had come and the story is short. His own people accused him of embezzling church funds. The Nauvoo Legion was called out and Governor Ford called out others against them. The non-Mormons, led by the citizens of Warsaw, were bent on their leaving the State. It was the only alternative and the Mormons at last

agreed. Some time was taken up in preparation but the next Spring they took up their slow and painful journey toward the setting sun.

As soon as they agreed to leave they tried hard to sell the Temple and other property but there were no buyers. It was finally left in the hands of no regularly constituted authorities and, be it said to the discredit of the victors that the Temple, a fine specimen of architecture, was defaced in a most inexcusable manner. Before daylight on November 19th, 1848, it was discovered to be on fire. The cause we can only surmise. People made no effort to save it and in a few hours it was a smouldering ruin. The Nauvoo Patriot expressed regret in the following language, "It was a work of art at once the most elegant in its construction and the most renowned in its celebrity of any in the whole West."

A band of socialists known as The Icarians came from France and undertook to rebuild the Temple for community purposes, but after a considerable expenditure of time and money a cyclone destroyed it on May 27th, 1850. Only a portion of the West wall was left standing. The idea was abandoned and out of the stone they finally built a school house and some other buildings. Nothing original now remains on the site except the well which, it has been facetiously added, "could not be moved."

The Icarian experiment proved a failure and later it was settled by a number of German farmers since which time peace, quiet and contentment prevails. Fruit-growing is one of their leading occupations. In the days of the Mormon power this city had sixteen thousand people but numbers do not count when they are on the wrong side. The census of 1920 showed a population of one thousand three hundred one. Modern buildings occupy the site of the Temple and only a few of the old buildings are left standing. Literally the City was founded on a rock, but figuratively it was not and it fell.

Now I want to take you back to Egypt. We will stop in the foothills of the Ozarks at the "Spar Hawks Nest," now known by the classic name of Thebes.

THEBES.

I do not want to class this little city as half-forgotten for it is one of the most wide-awake little cities in Southern Illinois, and its citizens will not allow it to become forgotten or half-forgotten, but it has some interesting half-forgotten history and "in between on the misty flats" somewhere we must class it.

In the earliest days of which we have any record it was known as "Spar Hawk's Nest" or as "Spar Hawk's Landing." Just when it was given the classic name of Thebes I do not know. It was platted in 1844. Writers who say it is ever surrounded by the Mississippi even in time of high water are in error, for only

a small portion of it is in the bottom. The remainder of it is snugly located on the hillside or on the hills, to reach which we have to climb a stairway of 98 regular steps and then go up an incline of about thirty degrees from a horizontal for a good one hundred yards.

Before Cairo became a city of any importance, Thebes became the second County Seat of Alexander County. That was in 1845. To be exact it was on the 4th day of February that year. Cairo, the second city of that name in Illinois, began to be an important steamboat landing and it put up a stiff fight for the location of the County Seat and by a vote of 570 to 390 it was decided to move in 1859.

The Old Court House was or rather is a two-story stone building so built as to have the first story set back into the brow of the hill, so as to have the floor of the second story about level with the ground at the back. Across the front there was a long porch with stone columns and from this porch you could get a wonderful view of the Father of Waters far below. Very much like the roads approaching some of the fortified towns of the Old World did the old road wend its circuitous route from the landing up by this venerable temple of justice to the top of the hill and on to the Indian Country farther East. I have not been able to verify it to my own satisfaction, but many of the citizens claim that Lincoln spoke there. It is certain that General Logan plead a law-suit there and that in this building he spoke for the Union in the trying days of 1861.

A few years ago, there was a bridge built at Thebes across the Mississippi and it gave it a new life. About the year 1912 the people of Thebes built a new High School and Grade School on the brow of the hill near the Court House. When this school house was built it was considered one of the best in all Southern Illinois and it still ranks as one of the best.

After the County Seat was moved to Cairo the old Court House was used for a church for a while and later was left vacant for a number of years, only to be the abode of bats and owls. Finally it was bought by the I. O. O. F. and they still own it but in repairing it several changes were made which have detracted much from its original charm. I regret to say also that the old road has been changed so that this building can be approached only from the back. However, there is a nice grove of trees there, very much as I fancy it used to be and people from far and near love to gather there and talk of the days of sacred and hallowed memories—the days that used to be.

We will jump again and this time it is to an old town on the Wabash—New Haven.

Old Court House, Thebes, Ill.

NEW HAVEN.

Located on the Little Wabash River on the line of White and Gallatin Counties is the old town of New Haven. It is sometimes claimed to be the third oldest existing town in Illinois. It seems that Joseph Boone, a relative of the famous frontiersman came to Shawneetown and settled there for a while, but that in 1812 he made a settlement at New Haven as a half-way stop on the post route between Shawneetown and Vincennes. He was soon followed by "Paddy" Robinson and Robert Grant. They may be said to have founded the town and named it New Haven from the New Haven in the "Nutmeg State."

Grant, a "Connecticut Yankee," laid out the original town of 161 lots on the Gallatin County side of the line. One block was reserved for a mill, doubtless to be for free use by the general public. One block was reserved for a school house, another for a church and still another for a burying ground.

Grant also opened up a store and was always ready for a "swap" of almost any kind with the natives or any one else. He did well, but enterprising as he was, Robinson seems to have been more of a "plunger" and bought produce from far and near up and down the River and shipped it to New Orleans.

Robinson built what has long been known as the "Old Robinson House." It was of the blockhouse type and served the purpose of an inn and also of a fort. From that fact the street on which it was located is named Fort Street. This house was of course built of logs. It had eight rooms and a very massive chimney with five large fireplaces, one of which was fitted for cooking with a large oven of the New England style, built in the bottom of it.

In 1835, Albert G. Caldwell laid out the second and last addition to the city. It was on the White County side.

The first school of which we have any record was a subscription school taught by Lizzie Boyd in an old log house. The next was taught by Samuel Murray. He was an old soldier and sailor and was better known as a romantic story-teller than as a teacher. In 1853 a Methodist preacher from "somewhere" organized a school which he taught for a few months and suddenly went "somewhere." His whole life so far as the New Haven people were concerned was shrouded in mystery. He was followed by a happy-go-lucky Irishman named Roger Frame who pretended to teach school, but he could not stay sober and he was followed by William Thomas who was more inclined to drink booze than to work. Jesse Fuller, Lucy Rowe and William Carter came in their turn. Finally a free school was organized in 1856, under the provisions of the law of 1855, since which time the educational movement has gone placidly enough to escape more than passing comment.

In the days of "wild cat banks" the bankers here felt secure from "runs" as they were a safe distance from large cities. It is said that once one of the bankers here had learned that a demand would be made on him to redeem a lot of "State Money" in United States Specie. He prepared for it and paid the messenger in pennies, two-cent pieces and bits. The messenger could not handle it safely, so what could he do but go back with his "State Money?"

Rev. R. M. Davis, a Cumberland Presbyterian preacher, was perhaps not the first preacher of New Haven, but he came there in the early days and settled just out of town where he organized the church later known as Union Ridge Church, where the people of New Haven worshipped with him as minister for fifty-two years.

One of the most noted of its pioneers was Henry Dagley, who lived to be over ninety years of age and died only a few years ago. The famous Daniel Boone is said to have lived there for a short time in the early days of the town. After he went farther West "to get elbow room" he occasionally returned to visit Uncle Henry and hunt for a few days with him. "The last Leaf," so far as we are able to learn is Joseph H. Graddy, a pioneer hotel man, "still doing business at the old stand."

Located as it was on a navigable river, New Haven was in the heyday of its glory before the days of the railroad. I cannot give the population at its highest but in the days of its founders it grew to be a thriving city. It had a large saw and grist mill, two hotels, four saloons, six general stores and five banks. It is claimed that in the days of its greatest prosperity it had more money in its banks than any city in the State. It prospered until 1870, when the B. & O. Railroad was built, missing it only a few miles. River traffic was ruined. Many of the people moved away and it has ever since then been going down, but there is prospect of hard roads being built through town and those who through sentiment or otherwise have remained loyal to the old town are rejoicing at the prospect of a better day.

I wish you would go with me now to Old Brownsville.

"OLD BROWNSVILLE."

On the banks of the Big Muddy, about four miles west of Murphysboro are a few heaps of stones—all that is left of the erstwhile County Seat of Jackson County.

Those who struggled here have all been called to their fathers on the other shore and unfortunately nearly all the records were destroyed by fire. Doubtless many precious fragments of history have been lost but a faithful tradition has handed down to us a great deal of interesting information.

Who was the first to come or when I am not able to state but records say Benningson Boone was born there in 1807. He was the son of William Boone who operated a flat boat on Big

Col. C. C. Boone,

Who is said to be the only person now living who lived in Brownsville.

Muddy and who defended the people against the Indians in 1812 and was later a State Senator. They were relatives of the famous pioneer and Indian-fighter, Daniel Boone.

In 1816, the same year that Jackson County was organized, this town was laid out by the brave pioneers who, drawn by the magic of the word, "Illinois," had come hither to work out their destinies in this strange new land.

Every man belonged to the "Citizen Militia" at that time and once a month the people roundabout gathered at the county seat for "Muster" and after the officers had "bawled themselves hoarse" they would have a barbecue, meantime they "swapped yarns" and "Sleights of Art and feats of strength went round". At such a gathering there was always some of the "Wimmen folks" who usually prided themselves in being good cooks. Some of them brought their knitting along. Often some old woman sat on an ox cart selling a mixture of water and honey called metheglin for "a penny a gourd". Later whiskey was freely peddled out at "two-bits a gallon". Muster days became disgraceful affairs and the best people were happy when the law was repealed.

They had elections then but quite different from the elections of the present. On election days they met at the County Seat to hear some one read the Illinois Herald a newspaper published at Kaskaskia and after a free discussion of the pros and cons of the issues they voted "Viva Voca".

Their differences were usually settled out of court by agreement, by arbitration or by fighting it out. Lawsuits were uncommon but here is an account of one which was published in 1878. A man named Wolf was charged with stealing a hog. He was asked, "guilty or not guilty?" and he replied, "If yer honor please I believe I am but if you have any doubts just call Bill Page. He was with me and got half of it but we needed it". The Judge replied, "It appears that you are guilty. You are fined five gallons of whiskey and the cost of the suit, the cost to be paid in deer-skins killed in the short-blue season.

Mr. Scott Crews, a descendant of one of the oldest families of Southern Illinois, tells me that the first school at Brownsville was held at the home of William Boone in 1814. The first bill providing for free schools in Illinois was introduced by Senator Joseph Duncan of Brownsville. It passed, was signed by the Governor and became a law on January 25th, 1825. On the 6th day of June Jesse Grigg who had been representative in the first General Assembly filed a petition signed by himself and sixteen others of the Brownsville community, which laid out the first free school district in Illinois. The school was held in the Court House and James McMurray was the first teacher. He was a sort of "jack at all trades" and each summer he would build a flatboat and take a cargo to New Orleans which he exchanged for things the people needed. He had gotten one leg broken and

it was considerably shorter than the other. He could not walk well and was nicknamed "Old Hopping John".

When the Legislature authorized the organization of a State Bank at Kaskaskia, then the State Capital, and three branch banks, one of these was established at Brownsville. Another was established at Shawneetown and the other was to be at Albion but was never organized.

Several of the older citizens now living in Jackson County remember Rev. "Phil" Davis who taught school in Brownsville and was also pastor of the Methodist Church at that place. He was one of the commissioners appointed to restore the records that were burned.

Milton Reynolds, the Great-grandfather of County Superintendent L. E. Etherton was a general merchant at Brownsville. He often went down the Big Muddy and the Mississippi to New Orleans to exchange produce for merchandise. From one of these expeditions he never returned and is supposed to have been drowned.

Old Brownsville was not without names that will live in history. We have already spoken of Senator Joseph Duncan who later became Congressman from that district and also Governor of the State. Conrad Will manufactured salt and became wealthy. He was State Senator from Brownsville in the First General Assembly. We have already mentioned William Boone who was Senator in the Second General Assembly. Jesse Grigg already mentioned was Representative in the First General Assembly. Sidney Breese who later became United States Senator lived in Brownsville, plead his first law suit there and lost it. Alexander M. Jenkins was a carpenter of Brownsville and helped to build many of the houses. He was Representative in the General Assembly in 1830 and again in 1832 when he was elected Speaker of the House. He was Lieutenant Governor from 1834 to 1836, was the first president of the Illinois Central Railroad Company and was a member of the convention that gave us the Constitution of 1848. It is worthy of note that he had a sister, Polly Ann Glenn, who lived and died at Brownsville and that at her grave in the old cemetery is a grave stone carved by his own hands, dated January 6th, 1833.

The Court House was a two-story frame building in the center of the Public Square. It was used also for a school house. Here is the story of how Old Brownsville became a "deserted village". Soon after midnight on the morning of January 10th, 1843 it was discovered to be on fire. People worked hard to save it but all in vain. Everything was burned except a few of the records which were saved by the heroic efforts of County Clerk, D. H. Brush who later distinguished himself as one of the bravest Colonels of the Civil war. A few hours and all was over for everybody knew that Brownsville was doomed and that this was its funeral pyre. Four days later a marriage license

was issued to George M. Brown and Anna Cross. So ends the record. The "Old Manning House"—the last of the Old Town was destroyed by fire about five years ago. Mr. J. W. Graff prizes as a valuable relic the key to the old jail.

A good number of families had settled farther East and were wanting the County Seat nearer the center of the County. After a spirited election on the first Monday in August 1843 it was decided to locate it on a twenty-acre tract donated by Dr. John Logan, father of the later famous General John A. Logan. This was the beginning of Murphysboro or as it was then called, Shieldsborough and this was the end of Old Brownsville.

A few months ago Messrs. C. H. Schumacher, Fred Doody, Don Hagler, Edgar Waller and myself with our families spent a day on this hallowed ground. We definitely located the old jail and a few other places rather indefinitely. We found the old cemetery, neglected of course and grown up in woods.

"Yet e'en these bones from insult to protect,
Some frail memorial still erected nigh,
With uncouth rhymes and shapeless sculpture decked,
Implores the passing tribute of a sigh."

We managed to decipher a few names:

Medina Roos (or Ross), Died September 1st, 1828.
Polly Ann Glenn, Died January 6th, 1833.
Ellis Mansker, Died April 20th, 1831.
Udosia Byers, Died July 5th, 1833.
Margaret A. Glenn, Died October 31st, 1833.
William Ozburn, Died February 7th, 1837.
Carved by ——— Ozburn.
Penina Wells, Died April 27th, 1831.
Mary, wife of Peter Kimmel, Died April 1st, 1839.
Margaret Ann Limrick, Died March 2nd, 1826.
Ezra Jones Maus (?), Died July 28th, 1844.

The last is the only one we found buried there after the removal of the County Seat. There were several others we could not identify. William Worthen from whom is descended the well-respected Worthen family lived in Brownsville as early as 1816 and is supposed to be buried there. William Boone surely was buried there but we found no grave-stone for him. Udosia Byers referred to above as buried there was the mother of Lindorph Ozburn who later distinguished himself as the brave Colonel of the 31st Illinois Infantry after General Logan's advancement from that position. Colonel E. A. Wells, President of the City National Bank of Murphysboro is a descendant of Homer Wells who lived near Old Brownsville. Penina Wells was doubtless some relation if not his wife. We are indebted to Col. Wells for several bits of information. Since I made my trip there, Mr. G. A. Rathgeber of Murphysboro who has delved deeply into local history has found the grave of Conrad Will in this, the Old Brownsville Cemetery.

"But now the sounds of population fail;
No cheerful murmurs fluctuate the gale;
No busy steps the grass-grown foot-way tread;
But all the bloomy flush of life is fled."

This story is already too long so I shall have to pass by Old Bourbonnais and the other Bourbonais, Millville on the old Galena Trail, Old Liberty on the Mississippi, Bernadotte, Vergil, Middletown, Liverpool, Illinois City, Purgatory, Cahokia and the Tamaroa that used to be near it, Alexandria, Marseilles, Old Stonington, Sangamo Town and a hundred others. Our story will close with Old Kaskaskia.

KASKASKIA.

Foremost among those who found Illinois a wilderness and shaped her destiny stand two strong, grand men, LaSalle and Marquette. LaSalle a visionary with a mind to dare and a will to do and Marquette a priest of God as worthy as any who ever died a martyr's death. LaSalle, an explorer had been among the Kaskaskia Indians at their old home near where Utica now stands and was the first white man whose eyes beheld the pleasant valley that fate decided should be the new home of the Kaskaskias. Marquette established the Mission of the Immaculate Conception in 1674. It was the first church in Illinois. In 1700 the Kaskaskias with a few Frenchmen left the old home, Old Kaskaskia and founded the New Kaskaskia, now called Old Kaskaskia near the mouth of the river then given that name but which is now usually called The Okaw.

Under the leadership of Father Gravier, they maintained the Mission of the Immaculate Conception under the old name and it is still the name by which the church and parish of that region are known. The first church building was of log but in a few years it was replaced by a massive stone structure in which the people worshipped for more than a hundred years. The old bell which was cast in France especially for this church sounded the call to service during all these years and at last seemed to sound the solemn requiem of the people who had carved their names high on the roll of fame and those who had traveled the even tenor of their way in the humbler walks of life as well until the old church crumbled to ruin and it was removed to Belleville.

The town was laid out in blocks about three hundred feet square with four lots to the block. There was in addition what was known as The Commons which was parceled out from year to year to the farmers but as the population grew portions of it was cut off into blocks and lots for building purposes.

Already the French were involved in what is known in America as the Inter-Colonial Wars and they with their allies feared the English and their allies. For that reason they began

the construction of Fort Chartres near the center of the cluster of French settlements in the Mississippi Valley. A few years later they built Fort Kaskaskia on the bluff on the Eastern bank of the Kaskaskia River. The former was not completed for about thirty years. It cost about a million dollars and practically bankrupted the Kingdom of France but it never fired a hostile shot. The latter was not expensive but it was occupied by a French garrison during the French and Indian War and was destroyed by the French themselves to keep the English from using it against them. In 1784, an outlaw by the name of John Dodge organized a posse of men, rebuilt part of the fort, took cannon from Fort Gage and for a number of years defied the civil authorities.

Kaskaskia became the commercial center of all the French possessions in America. Different enterprises sprang up and they controlled the trade from the mouth of the Monongahela and the Allegheny on the East to the head waters of the Missouri on the West and from the head waters of the Mississippi and the Great Lakes on the North to the Gulf of Mexico on the South. The people of Kaskaskia were reckoned with in military affairs. Kaskaskians were there when George Washington had to abandon Fort Necessity. They were in the fight when the haughty Braddock was killed and they were there when the brave Montcalm welcomed death rather than see the surrender of Quebec but when the God of War accepted the sacrifice of the brave General Wolfe on that memorable day on the Plains of Abraham the future of Kaskaskia was destined to a great change for, as a result, Captain Sterling took possession of Kaskaskia. The Lilies of France came down and the union Jack of England went up. Rather than come under the rule of the Anglo-Saxon many of the French moved to the French settlement at Chouteau, now St. Louis not knowing it had been transferred to the Spanish whom they also disliked.

Let us here pause to get a different view of the French at Kaskaskia. Governor Ford says, "notwithstanding they had been so long separated by an immense wilderness from civilized society, they still retained all the suavity and politeness of their race. It is a remarkable fact that the roughest hunter and boatman amongst them could at any time appear in a ballroom or other polite and gay assembly with the carriage and behavior of a well-bred gentleman. The French women were remarkable for the sprightliness of their conversation and the grace and elegance of their manner."

We are now in the days of the British occupation. On the 24th of October 1765, George III issued a proclamation which forbade any of his "loving subjects" to acquire title to any of this territory wrested from the French. That he intended to divide the whole country west of the Alleghenies into baronial estates similar to the old feudal system in a vast inland empire

can not be doubted. The jury system was adopted but the courts were corrupt and affairs were administered in favor of the English who reaped rich rewards from the Indian traders.

When the English took possession, their military headquarters were at Fort Chartres about eighteen miles away but on account of trouble at Kaskaskia in 1871 it was torn down and abandoned and they took possession of an old stone house in Kaskaskia that had been built as a Jesuit mission in 1721. They fortified it and called it Fort Gage.

Settlers from the East had heard of this wonderful land and poured in until it became a "melting pot", Indians, French, Virginians, people from Massachusetts, people from Connecticut. In the year 1774 the British Parliament passed the Quebec Act which annexed all the territory north of the Ohio to Canada. By virtue of their original charters Virginia, Massachusetts and Connecticut claimed this territory. As might be expected, the people from these colonies did not like this high-handed way of doing business and resented it in words that forbode revolution. Colonel George Rogers Clark made his famous expedition and gave them the news that England was at war with the French and the Americans and they were then Americans All.

We are all familiar with the story of how Illinois County was organized with Kaskaskia as the county seat and how all the Northwest territory was transferred to America following the Revolutionary War. On February 3rd, 1809 Illinois Territory was organized with Kaskaskia as the capital. In 1814 Mathew Duncan began the publication of the first newspaper in Illinois and it was a power for good for more than a generation.

When Illinois became a state in 1818 Kaskaskia was selected as the capital but just two sessions were held here and then the capital was moved to Vandalia. Kaskaskia was now at the zenith of its glory and it henceforth declined rapidly but let us pause for a moment of pleasant memories. For more than a hundred years it had been famous in society and of great importance politically and financially. It was often spoken of in the aristocratic city of Richmond when Illinois was a county of Virginia. The interests of Kaskaskia were gravely discussed in Philadelphia, New York and the Capital of the United States. Kaskaskia had done its part toward extending a new civilization over the American Continent and having fulfilled its mission was soon to "go the way of all the earth" but not without leaving names that will last on the pages of history forever. Let us call the roll of a few of the Immortals: Father Monest who came from the Old Kaskaskia to the New Old Kaskaskia and maintained the life of the Mission, Father Gravier who learned the Indian language and taught them his own, Father Gibault who made a plea to Colonel George Rogers Clark for mercy for his people but whose good sense quickly saw Clark's real object

and pursuaded them to take up the cause of the Americans, John Rice Jones the first lawyer in Illinois who was later a Justice of the United States Supreme Court, Judge Sidney Breese who was later a United States Senator, General James Shields a general in two wars and a United States Senator from three states, Jesse B. Thomas and Ninian Edwards our first United States Senators the latter of whom had been Governor of Illinois Territory and was later Governor of the State of Illinois, Elias Kent Kane who wrote our first constitution and who was our first Secretary of State, Mathew Duncan, editor of the first newspaper in Illinois, Pierre Menard, a substantial big-hearted merchant who was our first Lieutenant Governor of Illinois and Shadrach Bond, our first Governor of the State. One historian refers to Governor Bond as a plain, honest man and the same might be said of every one on the list.

From the day it was decided to change the capital to Vandalia, Kaskaskia gradually declined. In 1844 many of the houses were washed away by an overflow of the Mississippi. A sorrowful ending was fast approaching. Other overflows followed and the Mississippi changed its course until it seemed that even the graves of the dead must soon be washed away. In 1892 the Legislature made an appropriation for the purpose of removing the dead from the cemetery to a place selected on higher ground. On account of objections raised by their descendants, the graves of a few were left to be washed away, but there were probably more than two thousand who occupy nameless graves on Garrison Hill, a beautiful site overlooking the Mississippi as it flows placidly over the old. In the new cemetery there stands a beautiful monument bearing this inscription:

> Those who sleep here were first buried at Kaskaskia and afterwards removed to this cemetery. They were the pioneers of the great Mississippi Valley. They planted free institutions in a wilderness and were the founders of a great commonwealth. In memory of their services, Illinois gratefully erects this monument.
>
> —1892—

The original site of town and cemetery is now entirely covered by the Mississippi, but as we view this "City of the Dead" our minds wander back more than two centuries to the time when the people of Kaskaskia laid the foundation of the "Grand Old Commonwealth of Illinois".

At the beginning I knew this was a subject that could not be fully discussed in the time allowed but I shall have to confess that as I have made investigations the problem has seemed to grow. There is a certain degree of indefiniteness about it for it is hard to draw the line and say this is a half-forgotten town and that is not. If time allowed I might go on indefinitely for there are many of these old towns whose people played a wonderful part in the making of this great Commonwealth, have passed

away and given place to new towns and a new generation living under different conditions. I know some will be disappointed because I did not even mention the town of X. There is no particular reason for the omission only that the subject is so large that it would take several volumes to contain the story. If what I have said will cause others to put the story of the Half-forgotten Towns of Illinois into permanent form before it is forgotten I shall be satisfied. I believe it was Cicero who said, "It is harder to find the end of a speech than the beginning". Whether I have said too much or not enough, I must close here.

POLISH EXILES IN ILLINOIS.

By
MRS. ISAAC D. RAWLINGS.

A Polish poem by J. U. Niemcewicz says:

"The wild dove has its nest, and the worm a clod of earth
Each man has a country. The Pole has but a grave."

To adequately understand the high educational attainments and the aristocracy and traditions of the Polish political exiles who were transplanted under the most unfavorable conditions to the United States and to Illinois as the result of the Revolution of 1830 in Poland, we must very briefly review Polish history.

Kraitsir[1] tells us that Polish history may be divided into six epochs:

I. The first embracing the period 860 to 1139 reveals Poland as a conquering nation with the absolute monarchy beginning to be limited by the increase in power of the lords.

II. During the second period from 1139 to 1333 we find Poland being divided by several sovereign lines and with increasing power of the lords.

III. The third period including the years 1333 to 1587 shows Poland at the height of her prosperity. This is the golden age. Poland is the patron of the arts and learning. Universities are established. Poland[2] is one of the most powerful countries of Europe, in territory exceeding all except Russia and in population exceeding all excepting France and Russia. The king's power[1] is lessened as the nobility grows. In 1572 the government[2] called a republic is organized upon the unit system. The ruling officer styled a king, is chosen by the unanimous vote of the constituency in which every nobleman has a voice. The law-making power is vested in two Houses called the Diet. Poland is a Kingdom-Republic. A great defect in the organization of government, to show later is the system of serfdom. More than two-thirds of the people are serfs who could not be sold but belonged with the land. They are of the same race as the nobility. Only the free-men of Poland—the land owners who were nobility—were soldiers.

IV. The fourth period from 1587 to 1795 marks the years of Poland's decline. Anarchy of the nobles is on the increase without interruption. After each war with neighboring countries[3] Poland loses territory until in 1795 the last partition takes place. Prussia, Austria and Russia each share in the full distribution of Polish territory.

V. During the fifth period from 1795 to 1815 we find Poland dismembered and nameless.

VI. In the sixth period 1815 to 1920 nameless Poland is under Russian dominion and is sorely oppressed. In 1815 Poland is partially restored as a Russian province called the grand-duchy of Warsaw. Part of the time there is a Polish parliament.[3]

VII. To the six preceding periods may be added a seventh —Poland restored from 1920 to date. The thirteenth of President Wilson's fourteen points[4] announcing that " an independent Polish state should be established" came as a ray of light through the murky, despondent darkness of the past century. The Peace Treaty of Versailles resulted in Poland's restoration.

Sobieski says religious[2] liberty is supposed to be of quite recent origin, yet three hundred years ago Poland put in her Constitution these words: "The right to worship God as one sees fit and proper, shall never be questioned". Also, "The arms of the republic shall never be engaged, except for these purposes; in defense of the republic, and in defense of the Christian religion". And in the two hundred years that the republic existed, this provision was never violated.

According to Dyboski,[3] in 1825 when Nicholas I ascended the Russian throne, the Polish parliament challenged his despotic temper by refusing to pass a death sentence on a group of Polish citizens accused of political conspiracy. Only a war with Turkey prevented Nicholas from aiming a decisive blow at Poland's liberties. To flatter Polish feeling he let himself be crowned king of Poland May 24, 1829 in Warsaw. Prince Constantine brother of Emperor Nicholas was appointed governor of Warsaw. Guggenberger states[5] the despotism of Prince Constantine made Poland a prolific hotbed of wide spread conspiracies for separation from Russia and ultimately led to the revolution which had as its objective the restoration of the ancient kingdom-republic. Austria and Prussia guarded their own portions of the dismembered state.

The spirit of patriotism burst forth on the 29th of November 1830 in Warsaw in an attempt on Constantine's life. The young officers of the Polish Officer's Training Corps[3] in Warsaw organized and the city and troops enlisted in the movement under the command of General Chlopicki, a veteran of the wars of Napoleon. Constantine,[6] with his Russian troops, evacuated Warsaw and finally left the country. The fact that the Poles possessed a well drilled army of 80,821 men, 6,800 horse and 158 guns gave solidity to the uprising. The revolution lasted until September 1831—ten months—during which time the kingdom was independent. Chlopicki was named dictator[5] and brought some order out of the general confusion. However the capture of Warsaw by the Russians in September 1831 sealed the fate of Poland. The remaining Polish armies saved themselves by crossing into Austria and Prussia where they were

disarmed. Poland was reduced to the position[6] of a Russian province. No remnant of Poland's separate political existence remained save the minute republic of Kracow.

Europe was profoundly[5] moved by the fall of Warsaw. Poland paid the penalty.[3] The insurrection of one small province against the whole gigantic Russian empire proved a hopeless undertaking. The shadow of Russian revenge fell darkly. Warsaw from the center of Polish life was transformed into a stronghold of military oppression[5] and police control. The children of the fallen, imprisoned or fugitive nobles captured by the Cossacks were transported to Russia to be brought up as soldiers of the Czar. Capital punishment,[1] imprisonment or enrollment into Russian regiments became the reward of patriotism. All measures calculated to extinguish the nationality of the Poles were put into execution. Sweeping confiscations[3] of property made room for an invasion of the Russian element. About 100,000 Poles[7] walked—literally—to Siberia—exiles! Only a few thousand escaped from Russian Poland to Austrian and Prussian Poland. Those who could not obtain passports[1] to France and England and would not return home were sent to America.

Dyboski tells us the Polish emigration[3] stands out as a great moral factor. It rendered vital service by keeping the memory of Poland fresh in Western European public opinion and by keeping the sacred fire of Polish national tradition and national consciousness alive in the bosom of the Poles themselves. The body of exiles contained some of the nation's most illustrious men in the field of statesmanship, learning and art. The pathos of her tragedy has been voiced by the most eloquent tongues of all nations. The big problems faced by these brave people were the poverty and distress of the homeless, the uncertain legal status of political refugees and the difficulty of leading a normal life of self-respecting work in a foreign country.

The Polish revolution of 1830[9] brought to the United States a considerable contingent of Poles, mostly soldiers and members of the lower nobility. Among Americans of that time, enthusiasm in Poland's cause ran high. Moscicki states[4] that on the initiative taken on July 4, 1831 by General Lafayette and James Fenimore Cooper the Americans in Paris organized a special committee for the purpose of collecting funds. Warm words of encouragement were addressed to Warsaw by the cities of New York and Boston. On January 4, 1832 "The Buffalo Journal and General Advertiser" exhorted the Government to provide settlement facilities for Poles. It wrote, "Let the arms of our nation open to receive these heroic derelicts from the Russian shambles, as befits a great and free nation which owes so much to the ancestors of those who now seek shelter from a rule of despotic terror".

Similar in sentiment[4] toward the Poles were the people of the state of Illinois whose address to the Polish-American Committee read as follows: "Come to us, noble descendants of a valiant nation! Come to us, heroes and martyrs of liberty. We extend to you our fraternal arms. Come and share the luxuriant fruit of our land and the freedom which your ancestors helped us to secure. Our liberty is not the accomplishment of the inhabitants of this country alone. Friendly people of other nations contributed to the independence of the United States, and are we now to desert you and let tyrants triumph?".

The first Polish exile to come to America after the November insurrection is said to have been Joseph Hordynski[4,7] a major in the Polish army. Many others soon followed. In November 1832 the "New York American" reported that a large number of Poles lived in New York amid conditions bordering on extreme poverty. The Polish National Committee collected several thousand dollars to help them.

We are indebted to Napieralski[22] for the following: Captain Joseph Napieralski, an exile, was born in Kalish, Russian Poland about 1800. A company of soldiers of which he was captain was surrounded by Russians at the battle of Cross Mountain, Poland. He had to flee and went to Bninski, Prussian Poland. Here he planned the sailing of two Norwegian ship loads of exiles to leave from a port in Norway. One of these vessels never reached American shores. From the other was landed between 130 and 140 exiles. In 1834 Captain Napieralski came to Chicago where the rest of his life was spent.

Kruszka informs[7] us that on March 31, 1834 two Austrian ships "Guerriere" and "Hebe" under Commodore Bandiera, brought 235 exiles of the revolution of 1830 to New York, deported by the Austrian government. Among these were two priests, chaplains of the Polish Revolutionary army, the Rev. Anthony Rossadowski, a Franciscan father from Wilno, and the Rev. Louis Jezykowicz, a Piarist father from Miedzyrzecza in Wolynia. Among the laymen were Dr. Henry Kalusowski,[4] noted social worker; Paul Sobolewski, a lawyer and author in Illinois; Dr. Carl Kraitsir who became a professor in the University of Virginia; Major Louis baron Chlopicki, a relative of the famous General Chlopicki of the Polish revolution; Casimir Stanislaw Gzowski, engineer and builder of the first suspension bridge over the rapids at the foot of Niagara Falls, and many other men equally prominent.

From Kraitsir we learn[1] that before being landed in New York they selected a committee which should act with public authorities and private individuals for their common benefit. A plan of forming a settlement was made and three members of the committee were sent to Washington to make an application to Congress for that purpose. This committee of nine men presented the following memorial or petition to Congress:

MEMORIAL.[1]

To the Representatives of the people of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

The undersigned Poles, selected by the two hundred and thirty-five placed on the hospitable shores of these United States by the orders of the Emperor of Austria, venture to address your august body for such relief as men placed in our peculiar situation may lay claim to.

As long as we had a country that we could call our own, we resolutely fought for her independence, until the overwhelming power of Russia forced us to take refuge in the Austrian and Prussian Provinces, asking only for a free passage into France. In the month of April last the Austrian Government having promised us liberty and protection, suddenly, and without notice placed us in confinement in the city of Brunn, in Moravia answering our protests with assurances that, when assembled, we would be sent to France. After three months' confinement, the Austrian Government gave us the choice of either returning to Russia, or of embarking for the United States, with the Government of which an arrangement had been made for our protection and support. As lovers of freedom and of free institutions, we accepted the alternative of living among a free people; although in so doing, we had to give up all hopes of the land of our love, of our habits, of our laws, and our language. Arrived at Trieste, we were there confined for three months, until, finally we were embarked on board of two Austrian frigates and after a navigation of four months and ten days, landed at New York, in these United States, where we now find ourselves placed in the most critical situation, being ignorant alike of the language and of the customs of the country, and destitute of everything but the means of a few days' support.

Although pilgrims in a foreign land, with nothing but the sad recollections of the past, and hopes for the future, we wish to live a life of active industry, and become useful to the country of our adoption. Since Providence in its inscrutable wisdom, has deprived us of the land of our birth, we wish to plant in these United States a second Poland, where our countrymen, the still unconquered sons of adversity, may congregate and prosper.

With these views, we respectfully solicit your august body a grant of land under such provisions as will enable us to live by our industry, to rally round us such of our countrymen as may visit these shores, and become of use and of service to the people of these United States, and for such other aid and assistance as may seem meet. And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

New York, April 9, 1834.

Lew. Banczakiewicz, Mart. Rosienkiewicz, Dr. Char. Kraitsir, John Rychlicki, Fel. Gronczewski, Jos. Kosowski, John Hiz, Lew. Jezykowicz, Adalb. Konarzewski.

According to Kruszka[7] they wished to get the land before summer because they wanted to live by working in the field and not by begging. At the same time another ship "Lipsic" was on the way to New York with 50 or 60 exiles. The majority of the above mentioned 235 exiles were officers of different rank, the rank of major being the highest; fifty of them had served in the regular army before the Polish revolution, the rest taking arms during the revolution and the latter considered by the Russians the most dangerous. The majority of these exiles were from Russian Poland. The range in age was from 17 to 60 years, the most of them being between 26 and 40 years old. Only one man had his wife with him. The others who had families were compelled to leave them in Europe.

The following facts from papers published in France in 1834 and 1835 translated into English and contributed by Mieczyslaw Haiman[25] are in the archives of the Chicago Polish National Alliance. The Polish exiles, 235 in number, deported by the Austrian government and presented with a township in Illinois by the United States Congress, suffered much during their first months and years of stay in America. They were mostly either professional soldiers or young students, having no knowledge of any handicraft, unused to hard work and unable to speak English. Private letters published in those papers tell many stories of their sorrows. Some of the exiles in despair committed suicide. "They cannot take possession of the lands in Illinois," says one of the letters, "because the transportation from New York costs $20 per person and besides they need money for the beginning of their farming. Public subscriptions will cover the expenses only for a few of us."

The petition or memorial of these political exiles was presented to the House of Representatives on April 27, 1834, by C. C. Cambreleng, congressman from New York, and on April 29, in the Senate by Senator Poindexter of Mississippi.

The Congressional[17] records of this period contain the following:

RELIEF TO POLISH EXILES.

Mr. Cambreleng said he took great pleasure in presenting to the representatives of a free people, the memorial of the Polish exiles. Driven from their native land these pilgrims of liberty come to worship at our altars. The memorialists are but a small portion of some 100,000 Poles who have been exiled from their country. Some few found refuge in Europe, but most of them were banished to the wilds of Siberia. I trust, sir, we shall never violate those rules of public law, so necessary to protect the rights of nations, and to preserve the peace of the world—which prohibit us from interfering with the political affairs of other countries. But I know of no national obligation to prevent us from extending to these exiles our hospitality and our sympathy. Nor can the rigid rules of public law restrain the friends of freedom, in every land, from taking a deep interest in the struggles of patriots, wherever they may occur. Though the cause of unhappy Poland may not be the cause of nations, it is intimately associated with the cause of mankind . . . . . Liberty mourns over her fate, and the children of every enlightened land learn her story, and weep over her calamities. Public law cannot blind us to the actual condition of the political world. The social elements of civilized nations are in commotion—antagonistic principles are in active general war. The history of the last twenty years—the fundamental changes in the Governments of Great Britain, France and Spain, prove that a spirit of reform is silently revolutionizing the plan and form of ancient governments. Western Europe is animated with this spirit, and absolute monarchies are giving way to constitutional and representative governments. It must be evident that the eastern and western portions of that continent cannot long remain in peace. The question must sooner or later be determined, whether all who contend for the rights of man, shall be banished to our free land or whether the white eagle of Poland is destined to wave triumphantly over the battlements of Warsaw. . . . It is not necessary for me to recount the sufferings of the Polish exiles, to excite the sympathies, or to solicit the favor of the House. There is, there can be, but one sentiment from the Canadian to the Mexican frontier. The voice of the nation from ocean to the wilderness,

will welcome them to our shores, and proclaim their right to demand our hospitality. The countrymen of a Kosciusko and of a Pulaski, will find an eloquent advocate in the heart of every American. A debt of gratitude can never be cancelled. The claim of the memorialists is also sustained by the laws of hospitality and the usage of nations. They ask for a grant of land, that they may end their days in peace and security. Let us grant an asylum to these exiles, and while they mourn over the fate of the unhappy land of their nativity, may they be consoled with the reflection, that the brave Pole can never be an exile in a Land of liberty. . . . . .

The memorial was read, ordered to be printed, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

On June 30, 1834, Congress[1] enacted the following legislation:

AN ACT GRANTING LAND TO CERTAIN EXILES FROM POLAND.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there be, and is hereby, granted to Lewis Banczakiewicz and his associates being two hundred and thirty-five exiles from Poland, transported to the United States by the orders of the Emperor of Austria, thirty-six sections of land, to be selected by them under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury in any three adjacent townships of the public lands which have been or may hereafter be surveyed, situated within the limits of the State of Illinois or the Territory of Michigan.

Section 2. And be it further enacted, That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to obtain an authenticated list of the names of the aforesaid two hundred and thirty-five Polish exiles and cause the same to be filed and recorded in the office of the Commissioner of the General Land office.

Section 3. And be it further enacted, That immediately after the said thirty-six sections of land shall be surveyed and located in the manner prescribed in the first section of this act it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to cause the said thirty-six sections to be divided in equal parts among the said two hundred and thirty-five Poles, by lot, under such regulations as the said Secretary may prescribe.

Section 4. And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for each and every of the said grantees to enter upon and take possession of the respective lots of land assigned to them and each of them; and after the expiration of ten years, the said grantees, respectively, shall be entitled to a patent for the lot of land assigned to them as aforesaid: provided, that the said grantees shall during the term of ten years, without intermission, actually inhabit and cultivate the said township of land in the ratio of one settlement for every 500 acres thereof; and, on the proof of such habitation and cultivation to the Secretary of the Treasury, and of the payment into the proper Land Office of the minimum price per acre, at the time of such payment, within the said term of ten years, patents shall be granted, as aforesaid, and not otherwise.

Approved, June 30, 1834. Andrew Jackson.

With the consent of the Secretary of the Treasury,[7] Levi Woodbury, the 235 Polish exiles delegated Major Louis baron Chlopicki and John Prehal (Prechala) to go to Illinois and select the lands for them. For unknown reasons, however, only Chlopicki arrived in Illinois. The Sangamo Journal[10] of September 6, 1834, says,

In a communication to Theophilis W. Smith of Illinois, by a committee of exiles they state that the different land offices in Illinois and Michigan have been officially advised of the appointment of these two commissioners; that these commissioners were expected to commence their journey to Illinois in a few days; that in the meantime the most of their countrymen

would remain in New York or some intervening part of the route until the lands are located so that immediately on arriving in Illinois where they will most probably settle, they will have to take possession of their separate shares of land.

In the Sangamo Journal[10] of January 10, 1835, the following article appeared,

It is generally known that several meetings have been held at Vandalia of the citizens of this state for the benefit of those expatriated Poles who had determined to avail themselves of the grant of lands made to them by Congress, and to locate in Illinois. After some measures had been adopted, Baron Chlopicki rose and thus addressed the meeting:

Gentlemen: Your invitation to my compatriot—the offer of your hospitality and the proof of your generosity together with noble manifestations of other states in our favor convince us that you know how to feel for our situation in presenting your arms to suffering exiles who cannot be ungrateful.

Your assembling, gentlemen, for the purpose of assisting us and providing for our first necessities causes us to feel most sensibly your kindness, and at the same time to hope, that the unfortunate exiles received into your state, will be under your protection during the approaching winter, and until they shall be enabled to reach their ultimate destination. The arrival of the sufferers for liberty upon the land of liberty, will be a memorable epoch in history and their establishment upon the territory of your state, with your assistance, will embellish history with an era the most glorious and worthy of commemoration among our compatriots who have suffered under a despotism.

Pardon me, gentlemen, that I beg in the name of my compatriots to return you our thanks for thus finishing your work so nobly commenced when we were suffering under the arbitrary power of a despot—that the virtue of a free people has not suffered those to become mendicants and wanderers among the virtuous, who have suffered for liberty, and who now are exiles."

At a subsequent meeting it was determined to appoint committees in each county of the state to solicit and receive donations of grain, stock, implements of husbandry and money, to aid the exiled Poles in the cultivation of their lands, and in establishing their proposed colony. The Committees were accordingly appointed and since the last meeting printed copies of the proceedings of the several meetings have been forwarded to the committees thus appointed.

Congress made the Polish grant[13] in Winnebago County, Illinois.

In the Sangamo Journal[10] of September 20, 1834 is the following article:

Three of the exiled Poles to whom Congress at its last session granted a township of land arrived at Chicago on the 7th inst., on an excursion in quest of a location. A public meeting was held in Chicago immediately on their arrival at which it was resolved "that the hospitality of the town of Chicago be respectfully tendered, through the president of the board of trustees, to the Polish exiles now in said town." Committees were appointed to receive donations for the benefit of the Poles, to invite those remaining in New York to visit Chicago, and to address a circular to the citizens of the state soliciting for the unfortunate exiles their civilities and attentions.

The circular of the Committee follows:

TO OUR FELLOW CITIZENS OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS.

The undersigned a committee on behalf of the citizens of Chicago, by them appointed to draft and report a circular to the citizens of Illinois, inviting their kind civilities and attentions to certain Polish exiles who are now in this town on their way to select that portion of our state where land recently donated to the exiled Poles is situated, respectfully represent: The

misfortunes of the inhabitants of Poland are well known; the miseries of a long and bloody struggle for liberty against the hordes of tyranny and despotism have wasted their resources and expended their substance. But this is not all—their domestic firesides have been violated by the ruthless soldiery of their oppressors, and they themselves driven into exile to a country whose language they do not understand and entirely without those immediate and active resources so necessary to place them in a situation independent of the assistance of our fellow citizens. We commend them, therefore, to you, fellow citizens, as they have been commended to us, by many of the most respectable citizens of the towns through which they have passed, on their route hither; knowing as we do that the patriotic feelings of the citizens of Illinois will never fail of being exemplified in practice and sincerity towards the descendants of those heroes who spent their blood and treasure in establishing our independence. Let us then show them return—show them that we recognize in them the defenders of their rights and liberties, against a despotism more cruel than that under which our fathers suffered, and which their fathers so nobly aided us by their valor and heroism in exterminating from the free soil of the United States. Signed, Richard I. Hamilton, Jno. H. Kinzie, John Green, Edward W. Casey, John Grant, Jr., Thomas J. V. Owen, Wm. B. Egan.

Histories record that Baron Chlopicki[11] [12] [14] arrived in Rockford in the autumn of 1836. He was an elderly gentleman, well informed and apparently an excellent judge of land. Upon his arrival in the Rock river valley, he selected townships 44 and 46, range one East. These are Rockford and Rockton. The intervening township of Owen was not taken and thus was violated one of the provisions of the grant which stipulated that the land should be selected in three adjacent townships. The land was already inhabited[7] by thirty American families. They had only a squatter's title,[11] [12] inasmuch as there was then no preemption law that would apply in this case, and the government had not placed the land upon the market. The settlers had enclosed their farms and made such improvements as they were able. Moreover the several Indian "floats" in these townships might have precedence over the claims of settlers or exiles. Church states[11] that Chlopicki disregarded the squatter rights of the settlers and made formal selection of their land and reported his choice to the secretary of the Treasury. The secretary of the Treasury did not order the subdivision of the lands because their selection by the Polish agent was not in compliance with the law. The lands in this vicinity belonged at this time to the Galena land district and with the exception of Rockford and Rockton, were open to sale and entry in the autumn of 1839. These townships, which included the 36 sections in controversy, were withheld from sale for nearly eight years after they had been surveyed. According to Pooley[13] Congress anticipated that the Poles would eventually take up their residence upon the selected tracts, therefore did not put this land on the market. Some of the Poles reached Illinois. A letter published in a Polish-French[25] paper, January 9, 1835, says that a few exiles are already settled on the granted land, among them a certain Turowski.

The following article appeared in the Sangamo Journal[10] of February 16, 1839:

GRANTS TO POLISH EXILES.

In the Senate of the United States a few days ago, Mr. Young of Illinois made the following exposition respecting the grants of land rights to Polish exiles made by act of Congress passed in 1834. Mr. Young said, "That some days since the Senate at his motion had adopted a resolution of inquiry whether the conditions on which certain grants of land in Illinois were made to Polish exiles had been complied with and a response had been given by the department which was printed and was now lying on our tables. It seemed from this document that a selection had been made by the agent of the exiles, but it had not been confirmed by the department. They were allowed by the terms of the grant to select thirty-six sections from three contiguous townships upon the condition that they would go upon the lands and occupy them for ten consecutive years at the end of which time they were to receive patents upon the payment of $1.25 per acre, the minimum price of the government. That four years and afterwards of the time had come by, and that there was not according to the information he had received, a single Polish exile in that part of the country. He further remarked that the agent of these exiles had so located their claims as to include eighteen miles on each side of Rock River embracing the finest portions of the country, and in many instances, interfering with the improvements of the settlers who would be greatly prejudiced by a confirmation of the selections of land as made by the agent. That another difficulty had occurred by the location of several floating Indian reservations on the part of these same lands which having been approved by the president, further legislation had become necessary to enable all the parties concerned to understand their respective rights under the circumstances alluded to. That in his judgment, whatever right these exiles may have had to an exclusive occupancy of these lands under the act of Congress passed for their benefit in 1834, but that right had become forfeited by reason of their failure to comply with the conditions of the act in occupying the land as is required. He concluded by moving a reference of the report to the committee on public lands which was agreed to."

Matters continued in this unsettled state[11] until 1843. Settlers in Rockford and Rockton could not procure patents of the lands they had occupied for some years. The attention of Congress was repeatedly called to the situation. The Polish agent had forfeited his claim in not selecting adjacent townships. The exiles had also forfeited their rights in not making an actual settlement on the lands. Congress, therefore, April 14, 1842, passed another act authorizing the entry and sale of lands in these two townships. The settlers made preparations to perfect titles to their lands. A public sale of land took place on November 3, 1843, at the usual price of $1.25 per acre.

On April 15, 1838, Chlopicki[7] resigned from his office. From the History of Woodford County[15] is this account:

Baron Chlopicki, a native of Poland, who for some state or political offense was expatriated from his native land, came to the United States and to Illinois and for several years lived in the city of El Paso. He was a fine type of the polished gentleman and his misfortunes were a key to the warm hearts of the American people. The citizens of El Paso took a strong interest in his welfare and when he died, "a stranger in a strange land," with no one near, Mr. W. M. Jenkins, an old and honored citizen of El Paso, had him buried in his own lot in the city cemetery where the distinguished old foreigner sleeps as peacefully, perhaps, as if he slumbered in the marble vaults of his ancestors.

From Kruszka we also learn[7] that in the place of Chlopicki, the Polish exiles chose John Rychlicki, who selected another 36

sections. But a new difficulty arose. The 36 sections were to be divided into 235 equal parts. That would give each exile 98 acres and a fraction. Such division was against the existing surveying law. Congress was petitioned by James Whitcome to remove this technical difficulty by granting to each Polish exile a round number of acres. Congress, however, delayed its action until June 8, 1838, when President Jackson, on motion of the war department gave to the Indians a portion of the land selected for the Polish settlement.

So the Polish exiles of the revolution of 1830 never received the land in Illinois as promised. Whose fault was it? The following testimony, given by the secretary of the Treasury, Levi Woodbury on January 7, 1839, is convincing proof that the Poles fulfilled all the demands to possess the land granted by Congress but that "in the execution of the third article of the law concerning the division of 36 sections into 235 equal parts one encountered such difficulties that the occupation of the land by individual Poles was made impossible. The Polish claims cannot be considered as collapsed, for the Poles to whom Congress granted the land fulfilled all the demands as far as possible."

In the meantime the Polish exiles waiting in vain for the promised land, scattered all over America. From the 235 who came in 1835, scarcely 70 remained in New York. Part of them in the hope of getting nearer Illinois moved west to St. Louis, to Louisville, to Cincinnati, and other cities. A letter written in 1834, and translated by Haiman, says, "There is nothing more sad than the coldness with which the Poles from New York are received by the inhabitants of the inner states who probably do not know the long history of the sorrows of Poland. Everywhere the roadhouses close their doors before our poor wanderers suffering from hunger and exhaustion."

Twenty of them went to New Orleans, and to Texas to find better living conditions. While going through the deserts of Texas they were attacked by armed Indians. They fought bravely and repulsed the attack. Only two were killed but many were wounded and died on the way. Only one returned to New Orleans to tell the sad news.

The Polish people coming throughout this period of political immigration were persons of culture,[9] and were freely admitted into American society which looked upon them as martyrs for liberty. With a few noteworthy exceptions, they exercised no influence upon the Polish immigrants of a succeeding generation.

In the Sangamo Journal[10] of October 28, 1842, is a pathetic account of the death of Lieutenant Edward Mlodzianowski:

> In Jacksonville on Saturday the 8th, occurred the death of Lieutenant Edward Mlodzianowski, aged 30 years, a native of Poland. He was born a noble in Russian Poland and was just concluding his collegiate education at Wilno when the late revolution in Poland broke out. He left Wilno immediately and with much difficulty succeeded in reaching Warsaw where he entered the military service of his country. He was engaged in various

battles of the brilliant and melancholy struggle and bore on his body till death the honorable memorials of his intrepidity and patriotism. By the fortune of war he was driven into Austrian Poland, from thence he reached Trieste and from thence United States.

The manner of his death was painful. His first attack of sickness was by a slight eruption on his face on Wednesday. On Saturday the inflammation extended to his brain. A stupor accompanied with a partial paralysis had supervened and consciousness was gone. At 8 P. M. he expired. During that last melancholy day, he gave no signs of consciousness except when his brother in exile, Napoleon Koscialowski, who was constantly at his side, addressed him in his native tongue in tones of earnestness and affection. Then it seemed as though the memories of other years were stirred and for a moment he seemed to make a vain and painful effort to arouse himself. With many a bitter thought we laid him in his last resting place, thoughts not only of his personal worth and the loss our society had sustained in his decease, but of his and his nation's wrongs, wrongs that had bowed his country in the dust, and covered his own years with a cloud and sent him forth a wanderer amid the earth, to be buried by strangers in a strange land. Our tears fell not simply from the remembrance of his many personal virtues; we loved him for his sacrifices in the sacred cause of human liberty. Such is the vigilance of the Russian police, that the subject of this notice had never heard a word from his family since he was driven into exile.

His estate was settled by the State of Illinois[19] leaving the property in trust to his intimate friend and companion in exile, Napoleon Koscialowski.

The medical profession[28] numbered among its eminent members Dr. A. X. Illinski, born in Wollhynia, Poland in 1817. Following the course prescribed for those in the gymnasiums—a working knowledge of Latin, Greek, Russian, French, German and his native language, mathematics and natural sciences—it took five years for him to get this foundation. At the age of fourteen he entered the patriot army as a lancer. After active service in the siege of Warsaw, that threatened the capture of the troops, they hastened a retreat to Galicia, Austria. In 1834 the peremptory order exiling all insurgents to either Russia proper or France made further stay in his country impossible. Fortunately the edict regarding France as a refuge was rescinded and it was made to read "America" so that these disturbing spirits could not easily return to Russian Poland. So in 1834 Illinski landed in Castle Garden, New York. After wandering a year in America, he went to Havana, Cuba, as an employee of a hospital. There was in that capacity something which awakened in him an interest in medicine and surgery. To further prosecution of this study he repaired to St. Louis, where he entered the newly opened McDowell Medical College and in due time graduated in the first class sent out from that institution.

In 1841 he began his work at Cahokia, where he remained, with the exception of a sojourn in California in 1849-53, practicing, merchandising and keeping a public house. In the "American Bottom", with all its treacherousness, its morasses and woods, with only his saddle-horse as his companion, he traveled

for miles to relieve suffering. To facilitate the finding of his way he blazed trees in true Indian fashion, so that his knowledge of woodcraft was almost as keen as that of the red man. His buggy, when he could use it, was the bank in which he kept his money, which he deposited through a slit in the seat when on long journeys and oftentimes hundreds of dollars were stowed away in this fashion.

But though he was a money-maker, he was a poor saver, and any wild-cat scheme found the doctor a financial angel to aid its launching; and in consequence he died a poor man. After the death of his wife, who was the widow of Dr. Armstead O. Butler, he married the second time eighteen years later. His family consisted of five daughters.

Over a period of years Paul Sobolewski (Soboleski) wrote for the "Belvidere (Ill.) Standard" signing[23] the initials "P. Si". The following biography was sent by his daughter, Mrs. Ada B. Shane[20] of Winfield, Kansas:

My father, Paul Sobolewski, was born at Warsaw, Poland, June 16, 1818. He was the only son of Martin Sobolewski and Endoxa Sobieski, his mother being a descendant of the king of Poland, John Sobieski III. He joined the Polish army at the age of 16 years. Taken prisoner by the Russians he was in prison eight months. Father was the youngest of the 235 exiles sent by Austria to the United States. These men thought themselves favored to come here to so fine a country as "noble, free, America" as they all called it. Polish history relates that only the nobility was expected to fight for Poland; the serfs were needed for labor. After several months on the seas the exiles landed in New York. There were many heartaches among them at the loss of country and home with the sad fact they were never to return. My father taught languages. He also translated a dictionary of French and German into the English language. His best known work was a book "Polish Poets and Poetry" printed in Chicago in 1881, containing translations of Polish poems from the 16th to the 19th century. He was 66 years of age at his death, May 30, 1884. He died in Chicago and is buried in Graceland Cemetery. The owners of the lot in Graceland were old exiles and it was their desire to be buried together.

In a manuscript on "History of Vermilion County" by Tilton[21] mention is made of Isaac Sodowski:

He was a Polish refugee who arrived in free America just in time to enlist and fight for his adopted home, in the second war with England. He was captured by the British and imprisoned at Detroit but escaped. In his journey from Detroit to Kentucky, he passed through the prairies of old Vermilion and was impressed with their beauty. Here later he built his home and reared his family. Here he is buried near Catlin, Vermilion County.

In the Sangamo Journal[10] of May 12, 1838, is an article copied from the Vandalia Register in regard to A. Guykosky (Gajkowski) stating:

Guykosky is a Polander by birth and is among those exiles to whom the liberality of our government was extended at the time they sought refuge among us from the power of Russia. He lived about one and one-half miles from this place on the Kaskaskia Bluff.

A newspaper article dated October 25, 1894, and loaned by his son[24] gives a brief biography of George Gregory Suprunowski. It states :

The people of Shelby and Effingham counties who have for many years known this quiet and unobtrusive man are little acquainted with his early and remarkable career. He was born in Poland in 1810. He entered the University of Warsaw about 1829. During this period the Polish insurrection began. One of the Polish regiments was composed entirely of students of the University, about 1,200 young men. The great battle of the contest took place on the 26th day of February, 1831, under the walls of Warsaw. Upon being informed of a shortage of ammunition, this regiment used only bayonets and spears. When night came after the twelve hour battle there remained of the 1,200 but twenty men. George Suprunowski was one of the twenty survivors. He with others participated in other battles of the struggle for freedom and when their cause was crushed by the iron heel of Russia, he succeeded in reaching the Austrian lines. There he was captured and cast into an Austrian prison. After several months he was finally liberated on his promise to leave the country.

George Suprunowski went first to France, an exile, all his vast estates having in the meantime been confiscated by the Russian authorities. He was at this time about twenty-two years of age. He spoke five languages, was an accomplished scholar, and a soldier. With all his worldly goods—less than $200—he, with forty or fifty young men, landed in New York on Easter Sunday, 1833. He sought employment, although he had never known what physical labor really meant having lived the life of a gentleman with servants and wealth at his command. George Suprunowski learned the hatter's trade and in time went to New Orleans and later to St. Louis where he plied his trade among the old French families of that city. He next drifted to old Cahokia in Illinois. His knowledge of higher mathematics easily obtained him a position with a surveying party of Government engineers, and leaving old Cahokia, he went into Shelby County. There he met and in 1842 married Margaret Elizabeth Rogers, daughter of Robert L. Rogers. Their first home was near old Cahokia in St. Clair County. In a conversation with Colonel John Sobieski, Mr. Suprunowski said, "I believe in destiny, and mine has been a rough fate. I had a great fortune in Poland and that was confiscated and I was driven into exile. Then after I came to America and married, I earned a rich farm in the Mississippi Bottom near East St. Louis and twice all my possessions were swept away by the overflow. Now I must die a poor man. But my wife is my greatest comfort and one of the best women in the world. For fifty years she has been a most constant and tender helpmate."

Illinski and Polkowski, both exiles in Illinois were old friends in Poland of George Suprunowski.

He identified himself politically with the Democratic party, but when the slavery question became an issue he joined with the Republican party.

Death came in 1895 at the age of 85 years. Mrs. Suprunowski soon followed him. Both lie buried in the little cemetery near Holland in Shelby County.

Historically the Poles[9] have been so circumstanced that their racial and religious sympathies completely coincide. So fused and intensified are these sentiments that it has been well said that the soul of Poland is "by nature, Christian". The Congregation of the Resurrection, an order founded in Paris in 1836 by three men who fled from Poland as exiles of 1830 to Paris, administered spiritually to the exiles in Chicago. The most typical of Polish American laymen to achieve distinction was Peter Kiolbassa. Through his efforts the Resurrectionist Fathers came to Chicago. He served as captain in the Union army during the civil war and later the state of Illinois and city of Chicago in various and important positions.

The roster of Illinois soldiers who fought in the Mexican war[31] contains the names and service of the following Poles:

Chris. B. Zalviskie (Zalviski), Asst. surgeon, enlisted at Alton, enrolled June 26, 1846, 1st Regiment.

Elias B. Zabriski, 2nd Lieutenant, enrolled June 25, 1846, Co. B.
Longin J. Wronowski, Sergeant, enrolled May 21, 1846, Co. C.
Chas. Sominski, 3rd Sergeant, enrolled June 16, 1846. Co. H. 2 Regt.

Joseph Colclonzhh (Kolontay), Private, discharged for disability January 18, 1848. Co. D. 2nd Regt.

The years 1846 and 1848 witnessed other efforts on the part of the Poles to shake off the yoke[8 4] that had been imposed upon them. The movements did not proceed far. The persecutions which followed them resulted in a new emigration of Poles to the United States. About this time also the first Polish associations[4] were founded. A number of the veterans of the Revolution of 1830 organized in New York the "Stowarzysenie Polakow w Ameryce" (Association of Poles in America). An appeal dated New York, March 20, 1842 calls upon all Poles in America to affiliate with this organization recently effected. In 1852 the "Democratic Society of Polish Exiles" was founded in New York. Numbering over two hundred members its object was aimed to abolish slavery in America.

In 1861 and 1862 revolutionary demonstrations[8] in Poland were repressed by Russia with bloodshed. By 1864 the last sparks of the insurrection were stamped out. It had failed and with it the hope of restoring an independent Poland. Again new hosts of Polish exiles came to America[4] in search of bread.

The superior quality of the Polish immigrants[9] previous to 1870 was such as to give them a prominence out of proportion to their numbers and the record of the Poles in the Civil war was a really brilliant one, although there were not more than a few hundred of them in the various divisions of the Union army.

One who signally distinguished himself was Captain Alexander Bielaski. The widow of this gallant officer received the following dispatch[18] from General McClernand on Friday evening.

"Cairo, November the 8th, 1861.

Mrs. Bielaski: Your husband fell in the action at Belmont yesterday, bearing the flag of his adopted and beloved country in his hand, and crying to his comrades, 'Follow Me.' While I deeply sympathize with you in your irreparable bereavement, it is consolation to know that he died a hero, covered with glory. I have sent for his body.

J. A. McClernand,
Brig. General."

Captain Bielaski was a member of General McClernand's staff, a Pole by birth, originally a soldier by profession, and one of the gallant army of Polish patriots, who, until overpowered, resisted Russian despotism in its encroachments upon the liberties of his country. He was a gallant soldier, in many a hard fought field, and bore upon his body numerous scars obtained in conflict with the enemies of Poland. When all was lost he sought refuge in our then happy country. He came to this state, in 1837 and was engaged as a civil engineer by the state, in the prosecution of her internal improvement system. He resided here several years and in 1844, he was appointed principal draughtsman in the patent office which position he held until the spring of 1861, when he was assigned to General McClernand as an aid-de-camp.

Alas, he fell, in the first conflict with the enemy in which he was called to participate. He fell like a true soldier, in the front of the fight, gallantly cheering on his patriotic comrades. Captain Bielaski was a most estimable and genial gentleman, an accomplished scholar and as brave a man as ever breasted foe. His loss will be severely felt in the command with which he was associated. He leaves a wife and seven children who are temporarily residing here. His body will be taken to Washington for burial.

An exile with his widowed mother[2] at six years of age; a stowaway bound for America at twelve; a fighter against the Indians at 16; a bugler wounded at Gettysburg at twenty-two; a colonel in the Mexican army at twenty-four and condemned to death; at twenty-six a Minnesota legislator; for more than fifty years a dauntless reformer; such is the amazing record of John Sobieski. This man is a rare exemplification of living patriotism. Having freely offered his life on many battlefields he turned in time of peace to other battles for the right and gave himself with equal abandon to every cause which he espoused. Though gravely wounded in the Civil war he never consented to ask for a pension until a few months ago. At the close of his brilliant services for Mexico that republic sought to reward him with rich lands but these he declined.

In 1846 his father, Count Sobieski shared in an insurrection against Russia, was captured and imprisoned for eighteen months. John Sobieski writes, "From the day of my father's capture, my mother had not heard a word from him. Then unexpectedly we were visited by a detachment of Cossacks who commanded my mother to follow them to Warsaw. Though I was but six years old that two day's journey in our carriage escorted by those Cossacks is stamped idelibly on my mind. The viceroy into whose presence we were led, lost no time in imparting his tragic message. My father was still living but was to be put to death the next morning. By authority of the czar the

viceroy proposed that my mother consent to have me educated as a Russian by the Greek church and that she herself take the oath of fidelity to the czar. In return for her sacrifices she was to have the privilege of continuing to live on her own estate. The penalty for refusing this offer was to be immediate exile and confiscation of all estates and belongings. My mother indignantly refused". After six years of wandering in strange lands, haunted by fears, the spirit of the brave mother broke under the strain and she died in England leaving her only child an orphan and an exile at twelve. He stowed away on the warship Constellation and arrived in New York February 22, 1855. Later, enlisting in the Civil war, Sobieski participated in 42 engagements and was under fire 26 times, being seriously wounded at Gettysburg.

Colonel Sobieski came into close contact with Lincoln. To him Lincoln assigned the perilous task of going to Richmond as a spy and appraising the strength of the Confederate capital's fortifications. He easily assumed the role of a Polish nobleman and under the pretense of being a refugee, passed through the enemy's lines and into Richmond where he remained three weeks.

Mustered out of the United States army in June 1865, he enlisted in the cause of the Mexican republic, then in dire straits because of Maximilian's determination to set up a monarchy. Maximilian had decreed that any man found fighting for the republic should be shot. He it was who had banished Sobieski and his mother together with a number of other exiles from Milan, Italy for engaging in a popular demonstration in that city. It so happened that Sobieski was placed in charge of the would-be emperor of Mexico the second day after his capture by the republican forces and he could not refrain from going personally to Maximilian and reminding him of the decree which had banished him and his mother from Italy. Sobieski was in command of the firing squad at Maximilian's execution.

Sobieski died in Los Angeles, Cal., Nov. 12, 1927.

Of the three hundred Poles from Illinois, as estimated by Haiman in his yet unpublished history of the "Poles in the Civil War",[25] sixteen names obtained from him and twenty-three additional from the official roster in the office of the adjutant-general are listed as follows:
Hulanski, Thaddeus, Captain, Battery "L" 2 Rgt. Lgt. Artil.
Klutsch, Dominicus, 1st Lieut. 82 Inf.
Stempowski, Bernard, Captain 9 Cav.

The Poles from Illinois who died during the war either in Confederate prisons or on battlefields, or from disease are:
Beliski, J. Private, 16 Inf.
Bugas, Thomas, Private, 80 Inf.
Coyna, Peter, Private, 48 Inf.

Croskey, Edward, Private, 85 Inf.
Czar, George, Private, 44 Inf.
Finski, August, Private, 82 Inf.
Huszcz, H. B., Private. 76 Inf.
Kaminski, Ernest, Private, 4 Cav.
Lania, Alexander, Private, 79 Inf.
Listarski, C. Private, 87 Inf.
Sass, Frederick, Private, 76 Inf.
Stychlo, Peter, Private, 58 Inf.
Taminski, Antoni, Sergt. 22 Inf.

Niglas, (Niclas) Ignatz, Pvt. Co. I, 8 Inf.
Rebuss, (Robosz) John, Pvt. Co. B. 9 Inf.
Robor, (Robosz) Louis A. Capt. Co. G. 10 Inf.
Greenhut, Joseph, Pvt. Co. A. 12 Inf.
Tronc, Stephen, Pvt. Co. I, 11 Inf.
Cusic, (Kusek) Albert, Pvt. Co. I, 12 Inf.
Zitka, (Zytka) Frank, Pvt. Co. F, 12 Inf.
Mitsch, (Miszcz) Joseph, Pvt. Co. F. 12 Inf.
Baltus, Michael, Pvt. Co. D. 12 Inf.
Buzan, Jacob, Pvt. Co. A, 12 Inf.
Wolfsen, (Wolfson) William, Pvt. Co. I, 10 Inf. born in Glamb, Poland.
Avolt, (Awalt) Christopher, Pvt. Co. H. 11 Inf. born in Poland.
Schmoliski, (Smoliski) Herman, Pvt. Co. F. 7 Inf. born in Prussia, age 26.
Schmolenski, (Smolinski), Herman, Pvt. Co. F, 7 Inf. born in Prussia, age 34.
Sarbian, Andreas, Pvt. Co. I, 8 Inf. born in Karssadon, Poland.
Kluge, (Kulaga) Corp. Co. I, 8 Inf. born in Prussian Poland.
Loska, (Laska) Peter, Pvt. Co. H. 8 Inf. born in Austria.
Rakowski, Stanislaus, Pvt. Co. E. 8 Inf.
Rudowski, William, Pvt. Co. I, 8 Inf. born in Prussia.
Stienkie, (Stronski) Pvt. Co. C. 7 Inf. born in Downswic, Prussia.
Schadewitz, (Szadewicz) William, Pvt. Co. K. 7 Inf. born in Berlin.
Sobig, (Zabiga) Henry, Pvt. Co. K. 7 Inf. born in Germany.
Amysc, (Amysz) Andrew, Pvt. Co. B. 8 Inf. born in Virginia, U. S. A.
Stanintsky, (Stanicki) John, Pvt. Co. K. 82 Inf.
Krumy, (Kruma) Henry, Pvt. Co. K. 82 Inf. from Chicago.
Napier, (Napieralski) John, Pvt. Bat. F. 2 Regt. Lgt. Art.
Smole, (Smola) John Pvt. Co. E. 143 Inf. from Vandalia.
Smola, Frank Pvt. Co. F. 24 Inf. from Chicago.

Now that ninety-seven years separate us from the calamitous epoch which gave us the Polish exiles, we may accurately say that these people, for the most part of the aristocracy, willingly rendered acceptable peacetime service to Illinois as well as

assuming educational and religious responsibility for the less favored sons of Poland who came later; that they performed military service with great valor and distinction; and that because of their culture and traditions, they became desirable citizens representing as they did the highest type of manhood.

When conquered Poland was being driven to an unknown destiny,[4] America did not deny her sympathy. It comforted her by word and by substantial aid. It was the Star Spangled Banner that shielded the bleeding breast of the White Eagle.

LATER POLISH EXILES TO ILLINOIS.

Later waves of the exile movement brought to Illinois many Poles who were outstanding. From among the number several are here mentioned:

Edward Wilkoszewski entered the army[27] with friends and served his country nobly. After several battles he was captured and imprisoned, together with Paul Sobolewski. They made their escape and after many hardships reached Paris.

Edward Wilkoszewski was confronted with the problem of how to make a living. He was inclined to be artistic. Pictures and their adornment appealed to him and he learned the picture-frame business in Paris. Being young and energetic he was restless and thought constantly of America. In the early part of 1854 he emigrated to America, passing untold misery in crossing the ocean, a trip of many weeks' duration. He often spoke of the warm welcome given him in New York.

In July, 1854, he married Romualda Gorczynski. He lived for a short time in New York, then in Philadelphia and later in St. Louis. Finally, in 1860, he settled in Chicago. He established the first picture-frame factory in Chicago and in this line of work was known throughout United States. For ten years fortune smiled upon him; he shared his good fortune with many young Poles who had their start in life in this establishment.

His home atmosphere was one of refinement and culture. His hospitality was beyond comparison. Having literary ability he wrote many articles for various magazines in Europe and America.

Edward Wilkoszewski was ever anxious to help his countrymen and thought it time to establish an alliance which would prove beneficial to the Polish people. With the assistance of a few friends from various parts of the United States he founded the "Polish National Alliance." The first meeting took place and by-laws made in September, 1880, at the Palmer House in Chicago. This organization has grown to an immense size and is truly a monument to his memory.

In 1870 his factory was destroyed by fire, but he immediately rebuilt and was on the road to success when the Chicago fire of 1871 wiped away his work and broke his health. He succumbed to pneumonia on the 26th of March, 1883, thus ending a constructive life spent in helping his countrymen.

Mrs. Helen E. Hahn of Chicago, contributes the following account of her husband:

Baron Nicholas Hahn, an exile of Poland[28] was born in Odessa, December 18, 1833. He was the son of Count H. Hahn, a former governor of Grodno. He received his early education in Odessa and later was graduated from the University in Dorpacie. He chose law as a profession and practiced until 1863, when the Polish insurrection broke out and he entered the army. While in the army he was taken prisoner, but finally made his escape and reached Paris.

Through the assistance of Duke Adam Czartoryski and his son-in-law, Count John Dzialynski, he obtained a position as cashier in the "Grand

Magasin du Louvre." When the Franco-German war broke out he came to America and settled in Boston and later in Brockton.

In the year 1880 he married Helen Eleanor Wilkoszewski, the daughter of a pioneer of Chicago. He was a cousin of Madam Helena Blavatsky, who founded the Theosophical Society in New York City in 1875.

At the time of his death, January 12, 1902, the tribute was paid him that he was one of the finest educated Poles that ever came to America.

The most commanding figure among the American Poles[9] was Father Vincent Barzynski, a member of the order of the Congregation of the Resurrection. As a leader of men whose vision extended far into the future, he stands unique. He was the central figure of the most dramatic chapters in the history of the Poles in America. He gave them St. Stanislaus College, the first orphanage, the first Polish daily paper and he formed the first teaching corps of Polish nuns. He possessed great talent for organization. At the time of his death in 1899, St. Stanislaus parish[29] numbered over 5,000 families, and was said to be the largest single parish in the world.

He was outstanding as a pulpit and platform orator. His advice on questions of the day was sought by prominent men all over the country. He was unselfish, giving of his time freely and liberally to those who sought his aid.

This figure, so little appreciated in the country of his origin, from which he was exiled, made a lasting impression in the land of his adoption in every phase of social life. In Russian Poland his energy and ability were suppressed. What the land of his birth lost, the country of his adoption gained—not an uncommon example in American life.

Reverend Joseph Barzynski[30] perhaps is better known because of the career of his distinguished brother. Joseph's was a quiet, cloistered nature —a contrast to the personality of the aggressive, zealous Vincent. Joseph Barzynski's life was largely interwoven with the life of his brother, and he devoted himself to his brother's activities that they might be crowned with success. Father Joseph had charge of St. Hyacinth's church in LaSalle, Illinois, where he remained several years before being assigned to St. Hedwig's parish in Chicago.

He was known throughout the country by men of education as a philosopher and theologian. He led a quiet, studious life, bringing peace to the unhappy and encouragement to the hopeless. He lived his faith.

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THE REAPER AS A FACTOR IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AGRICULTURE OF ILLINOIS, 1834-1865.

By Herbert A. Kellar

Almost every farmer in Illinois knows from experience that all is not well with the agriculture of our state. Happily this situation has not always existed, at one time the agriculture of Illinois led the nation. It is this long forgotten era that I wish to recall for a brief space today.[1]

In 1834, Illinois had a medium length of three hundred and fifty miles and a medium breadth of one hundred and seventy miles, the whole containing an area of approximately 38,080,000 acres. Mitchell differentiated its soil into six distinct kinds, bottom land along the rivers; newly formed land at the mouths and junctions of rivers; moderately hilly land covered with timber; hilly land, destitute of timber; wet prairies; and finally dry prairies. The latter type covered two-thirds of the area of the state. In addition to being traversed by four large rivers, the Mississippi, Illinois, Wabash, and Ohio, the northeast corner of the State was bordered for a short distance by Lake Michigan. For the most part the climate was temperate, though the southern portion approximated that found in the warmer border states.

Illinois, in common with other Western States, rapidly increased in population during the first half of the nineteenth century. The figures 155,575 for 1830 and 476,000 for 1840 are typical of this rapid enlargement. In this period the inhabitants both old and new dwelt chiefly in the woodland districts along the banks of the principal rivers. As yet the vast and lonely prairies appealed only to the adventurous few. The transportation of the day was exceedingly primitive. Despite grandiose plans canals and railroads as far as actuality was concerned were merely the stuff of dreams. The enterprising citizen who wished to go abroad was forced to content himself with the uncertainties of embarking upon an occasional navigable river or to submit to the rude buffetings of a stage coach on one of the few turnpike lines. Lacking these conveniences of an advanced civilization he must perforce proceed by wagon, on horseback, or on foot through the trackless forests or over the endless prairies guiding himself as best he could and placing a considerable trust in Providence that he would reach his destination.

The inhabitants of the state, except for engaging in a thriving mining industry in the vicinity of Galena, chiefly concerned themselves with agriculture as a means of livelihood. The mining population at and near Galena, and the urbanites of St. Louis,

provided the chief local markets for produce. A limited amount of grain and livestock was shipped down the principal rivers to the Southern States. Because of the distance from markets the agriculture of the time was largely self-sufficing. Frequently the pioneer farmer had only recently cleared his farm from the wilderness or perhaps was now engaged in that task. He still produced his own meal and grain, and much of his clothing with the aid of implements which he had at home; while outside work, or the sale of a few hogs, cattle, wheat, or corn procured salt and other bare necessities of life.

By 1840 most of the good forest land was taken up and the surplus population and the new settlers who came in were forced either to encroach upon the prairies or to move further Westward. Those who refused to adopt the latter course settled upon the so-called oak openings, the small prairies, and the larger prairies adjacent to timber. The expense of developing a farm here was less than in the heavily forested regions. However, the amount of this type of land was limited and the crisis soon had to be confronted anew. The attitude of the pioneer of this period toward occupying the open prairie is curious and interesting. At first glance such regions offered numerous obstacles to settlement. Since the prairies grew no timber, the fertility of the soil was thought to be low. More capital was required for operating on the prairies. Wood, both for building and fuel purposes was lacking. Easterners particularly deplored the lack of stone. Water was difficult to obtain except by digging or boring. The open roads were almost impassable in the spring because of the mud. The wooden mold-board and cast iron plows could do little with tough prairie sod. It was pointed out that there was no protection from storms. Finally the prairies were thought to be unhealthy and living there was supposed to produce fever and ague. Upon actual test most of these objections proved to be a chimera and the open prairies were rapidly occupied after 1845. Among the factors which brought this about may be mentioned lack of other land for settlement, the removal of the Sacs and Foxes from Northern Illinois, the increasing prices for agricultural products after 1845, particularly the high price of wheat in the middle fifties; the introduction of the steel plow and the reaper; and the building of canals and railroads across the prairies in the fifties and sixties, which opened up markets and enabled fuel and building materials to be imported.

Starting a farm upon the prairies was much easier than in the woodland. The farmer had no brush to grub nor timber to cut before planting. While the grass sod was heavy and tough, and frequently as many as six oxen were required to break it for the first time, within two or three years it could be cultivated as easily as any other land. Arriving in the spring the farmer, after one plowing and a thorough harrowing, with good fortune

might obtain a crop of corn and potatoes the first year, and a crop of wheat, barley and oats the second, all from as much land as he could plow. Likewise freedom from stumps, stones and falling branches enabled him to use all types of machinery with facility. The cost of starting a prairie farm was quite reasonable. Solon Robinson, in 1843, estimated that the prairie could be broken up for one dollar and fifty cents an acre. Fence rails cost a cent each. A comfortable two room log cabin could be built for fifty dollars and a good farm house for three hundred dollars. A log barn could be erected for as little as forty dollars. Other items such as a well, cellar, garden fence, yards, sheds, etc., cost labor and not money. Fences were an important consideration to the pioneer farmer on the prairie because of the necessity of confining stock. Sod fences and hedges, particularly the osage orange, soon answered this need.

With the beginning of the settlement of the prairies in Illinois, the agriculture in that state rapidly developed. Wheat production increased from fifth among the Northern States in 1840 to first by 1860; corn from third to first; oats from fifth to fourth; rye from eleventh to fourth; barley from eighth to fifth; and hay and forage from eleventh to third. At the same time the area of improved land increased from fifth to second.

The causes of this notable expansion were chiefly due to the enlargement of the population from the natural surplus and to emigration; the Preemption law of 1841, which enabled the farmer to obtain considerable areas of land on credit; the building of canals and railroads, with the consequent opening up of eastern markets to western produce; increased prices for agricultural products; the demand for labor; the diffusion of agricultural information through agricultural periodicals, agricultural societies and other means; federal aid to agriculture; the beginnings of agricultural education; and finally the development and use of agricultural machinery. The remainder of this paper is chiefly concerned with the character and influence of this last factor, particularly the reaper.[2]

The development of the steel plow after 1837, by John Deere of Grand De Tour, William Parlin of Canton, and others, enabled the prairie farmer to plow large amounts of land with comparative ease, and with much less labor than formerly. It was thus possible for him to plant larger areas of cereal crops. At times in fact he could and did plant greater areas than he could harvest. Because of the scarcity of labor, large amounts of grain frequently rotted in the field. It was this problem that was solved by the development and introduction of the reaper. The steel plow was important and so was the thresher but the reaper was the key machine of the group. The land could be plowed at will over a considerable period and the grain threshed at leisure, but the grain had to be reaped within a given time or it was lost.

The people of ancient times recognized the disadvantages of using the sickle and the scythe to harvest their crops of grain and grass and made elementary progress in developing mechanical aids to perform these functions. An inscription upon a rock near Vienna, said to have been carved by Carthaginians fleeing from the wrath of Rome about 150 B. C., portrays a reaper which apparently cut the grain with a circular revolving knife and then by means of a moving drum laid it to one side in swath. Pliny and Palladius, the Roman scribes, writing several hundred years later, described a more primitive form of implement devised by the Gauls. This consisted of a two-wheeled cart equipped at one end with a row of long teeth for the purpose of tearing off the heads of the stalks when the cart was propelled against the grain. It is possible the ancients made other experiments in this direction, but if so, all record of them has been lost and their civilizations came to an end with the problem still unsolved.

The turbulent conditions of the Middle Ages were not conducive to agricultural advancement along mechanical lines, and it was not until the latter half of the eighteenth century that men again seriously gave their attention to the problem of inventing a machine for reaping grain.

In 1780 the shortage of farm labor due to the development of the Factory System induced the English Society of Arts, Manufacture, and Commerce to offer a prize for a reaping machine. From that time until 1830 English inventors held the center of the stage, producing quite a number of ingenious devices. While several of these, such as the inventions of Smith of Deanston in 1815, Ogle in 1822, and Patrick Bell in 1827, possessed considerable merit, the English never succeeded in evolving a commercially practical reaper and the net result of their efforts merely indicated certain of the mechanical principles which were later combined in the finally successful implement.

After 1830 the chief interest in the development of harvesting machinery definitely shifted to the United States. Experiments had been carried on in this country simultaneously with those in England and a number of patents taken out subsequent to 1803, but no implement of worth made its appearance until 1831. In that year, Cyrus Hall McCormick, of Walnut Grove, Rockbridge County, Virginia, invented and constructed the first practically successful reaper. This implement, the fundamental principles of which, the reciprocating sickle passing through double fingers, the divider, the reel, the platform, the power derived from one main wheel, and the side draft, are embodied in reaping machinery of today, was patented on June 21, 1834, three years after its initially successful demonstration in the

field. McCormick wisely decided to experiment with the form of his machine until he felt assured of its practicality in all the varying conditions of harvest, and accordingly did not place it on the market until 1840. Although now prepared to sell to the public, the fact that the agriculturists of the time knew little about machinery, made it necessary for him to educate them as to the use and value of his implement before he could dispose of it in any considerable quantity. Notwithstanding this and other obstacles, he steadfastly persevered in his efforts and gradually extended his sales from Virginia to the North and West. In 1845 and 1847 he took out further patents which added a seat for the raker and other important improvements. His long struggle now began to bear fruit in a steadily increasing demand for his machine, in consequence of which in 1847, evidencing the same breadth of vision which characterized his previous connection with his invention, he selected Chicago, then a frontier town, as the center of the future wheat belt, established his reaper factory there, and soon built up a national and international business.

McCormick in his efforts to develop the reaper and to convince the farmers of its practicality as a labor saving device, was not without strenuous competition almost from the beginning. In the summer of 1833 Obed Hussey had invented and put into successful operation near Cincinnati a machine subsequently known as Hussey's Reaper. Hussey was a picturesque character. A Quaker by religious faith, and previous to this time a sailor and a candlestick maker by occupation, he entered upon his career as an agricultural inventor and manufacturer with little knowledge of agriculture, a deficiency, however, which he soon made up. Encouraged by his initial success Hussey built several machines in 1834, sending one to Illinois. The next year he shipped one or two more to Missouri and New York. These early implements in the hands of unskilled operators did not perform very well, but nevertheless increased his reputation to the extent that the Society of the Eastern Shore of Maryland invited him to give an exhibition before their organization in 1837. Hussey thereupon removed to Maryland, displayed his implement before the more progressive planters, and in 1838 set up a manufactory in Baltimore. Here he made and sold a few machines each year. In 1843 Hussey, aroused by the invasion of Eastern Virginia by McCormick, challenged him to a public contest. This famous trial, which took place near Richmond and was won by McCormick, marked the beginning of a long and fiercely contested struggle for supremacy between the two inventors. Hussey's machine differed among other respects from McCormick's in that it lacked a reel and had a zig-zag instead of a straight sickle. Nevertheless, it was simpler in construction and for a time seems to have been more substantially built. As the development of these machines proceeded, it gradually be-

came evident that the principles of Hussey's machine were better adapted for mowing than for reaping, and Hussey can really be called the founder of the modern mower. However, he was not aware of this fact for a considerable period and consistently endeavored to exploit his machine as a reaper. Following the Virginian's removal to the West after 1844, Hussey principally operated in the Eastern field and McCormick in the West. This fact illustrates one vital difference between the two men. McCormick was a good business man as well as an inventor; Hussey was chiefly an inventor. McCormick saw the future development of the production of cereal grains was to be in the west. Hussey did not. As the wheat region declined in the east Hussey found the going harder and harder and when eventually he woke up to the situation and attempted to introduce his machine into the west, McCormick had already secured the market there, and Hussey was never able to endanger his supremacy.

By the time of the expiration of the original patents of the two inventors, in 1847 and 1848, they had succeeded in convincing the public of the utility of such machines, but had obtained little financial return for their endeavors. With the basic patents open to the public, other inventors, and capitalists with money to invest, immediately came forward and at once began to make strenuous competition for both McCormick and Hussey. The machines produced by these individuals, while generally following the original principles of McCormick's and Hussey's implements, presented sufficient variation of form so that their sponsors were able to offer them to the farmers as distinct machines. As an example of the extent of this competition, the number of reaper manufacturers increased from three in 1847 to over thirty by 1850. Confronted with this opposition Hussey fought a game but gradually losing fight. Finally in 1858, having sold only ten machines the previous year, he was forced to sell his later patents to rival manufacturers, and to retire from the field. He did not live long to enjoy his hard earned fortune for two years later he was killed in a railroad accident. On the other hand, McCormick, having defeated Hussey, turned his attention to his other rivals and by exercising financial genius, as well as by frequently improving his machine, fought a successful battle against them. Constantly threatened with an ever increasing number of competitors he consistently outlasted and outfought three generations of his rivals, and was leading a fourth at the time of his death in 1884.

In 1847, the year McCormick built his factory near the mouth of the Chicago River, he sold four hundred and seventy-five of his so called "Virginia Reapers." Between 1849 and 1853 his sales ranged yearly from a thousand to fifteen hundred. In 1855 they jumped to twenty-five hundred, the next year to over four thousand, and by 1865 he was selling as many as seven thousand a year.

McCormick's chief competitor in Illinois prior to 1848 was George Esterly of Heart Prairie, Wisconsin, who manufactured a header, a machine which stripped the heads from the grain. The high cost of this implement and the fact that it was better adapted to dry countries like California, soon caused its elimination as a serious rival. Esterly never sold more than a few hundred of his machines in any one year. In the fifties he abandoned the header type of implement and made a reaper which henceforth offered considerable opposition to McCormick. Between 1849 and 1852, Seymour and Morgan of Brockport, New York, who had manufactured McCormick's machine on a license basis until the expiration of his patent in 1848, entered the field with their celebrated New York Reaper. This was a good implement modeled on that of McCormick and contained several new improvements, notably a self raking device. Although the raking attachment was not altogether satisfactory, the New York Reaper gave McCormick considerable trouble and as a consequence he sued Seymour and Morgan for infringements of his later patents and obtained substantial damages against them in the United States Supreme Court. Nevertheless the subsequent machines produced by this firm continued for years to give him strenuous competition. In 1852, J. H. Manny, of Rockford, Illinois, introduced the Manny Reaper to the public. This implement, which likewise resembled McCormick's, with several added improvements, throughout the period of the "fifties" constituted a leading rival. McCormick sued Manny as he had done Seymour and Morgan but in this instance was unsuccessful, being unable to stop his rival by legal injunction. Manny's death before 1860 curtailed the activities of the Manny firm and his successors did not offer serious opposition. In 1853, John S. Wright, of Chicago, the well known editor of the Prairie Farmer, acquired the rights of Jearum Atkin's "Automaton" or self-raking reaper. This implement contained a curious and successful device for automatically removing the grain from the platform, thereby eliminating the man who rode on the machine for this purpose, as found in the McCormick and the Manny machines of the period. The ingenuity and novelty of the device took the reaper world by storm and the machine sold very largely until the panic of 1857 removed it from the field.

Other Illinois manufacturers who constructed and sold a considerable number of machines were Flagg and Ewing of Bloomington; Sylla and Adams of Elgin; Fountain of Rockford; Kirk, Marsh & Co. of Waukegan; Danford of Kane County; Denton of Peoria; Greene of Ottawa; Read of Alton; Smith of Batavia; C. W. and W. W. Marsh of De Kalb County; Haines of Pekin, and Rugg of Ottawa. Among manufacturers from other states who competed in the Illinois territory with more or less success, were Forbush, Barker and Love, Reilly, Heath, Henderson, Hussey, Ketchum, Allen, Sears Adriance & Platt, Burrell,

Dutton, Baker, Hallenbeck, Minturn & Allen, Rapalje, Emery, Ball, Densmore, Cook, Dorsey, Wood, Miller and Wingate, Kirby, Mann & Son, Palmer & Williams, Hess, Parrott, and Warder & Brokaw.

The methods by which McCormick more than held his own with these and other rivals, and the several improvements adopted by them, particularly the development of the mower, are interesting chapters in themselves but can not be taken up here.

The direct value of the reaper in the evolution of the agriculture of Illinois in the late forties, fifties, and early sixties, merits consideration. The cutting capacity of the machine greatly surpassed that of the cradle. The most expert workmen with the latter instrument rarely succeeded in reaping more than three acres of grain in a day. The average capacity of the implement seems to have been fifteen to eighteen acres a day without strain and twenty to twenty-two if pushed.

The saving of time attending the use of the reaper proved equally advantageous. This factor not only enabled farmers to complete their harvesting operations in a shorter period but removed much of the danger of loss of crops arising from unfavorable weather conditions.

The reaper likewise qualified as a labor saving device. Requiring only two horses and two hands for operation it easily performed the work of five choice cradlers and simultaneously kept six binders, one gatherer and one shocker constantly engaged.

Since the reaper cut more cleanly and shelled less grain than the cradle it also provided a greater yield of both straw and grain. The latter averaged as much as a bushel an acre. This feature alone meant that the implement frequently paid for itself in a single season.

In combination, the cutting capacity and the saving of time, labor, straw, and grain, arising from the use of the reaper, considerably reduced the expense of harvesting.

The introduction of the reaper gave the farmer a feeling of security with regard to his harvest for the first time in his experience. He knew that he could now cut his crops whenever they were ready at less cost than previously and that at the same time he could render himself more or less independent of labor shortage or unfavorable weather conditions.

Not the least important of the contributions of the reaper to agriculture were certain by-products which followed in its wake. Previous to its advent the average farmer made little attempt to improve the physical condition of his fields, being content to leave them for long periods, rough and unkempt, perhaps strewn with rocks, brush, stumps and other obstructions. Since the reaper did not operate well under such handicaps, wherever it appeared, agriculturists now began to smooth and clear their lands and to place them in better shape for cultiva-

tion. This in turn added to their fertility. The capabilities of the reaper and the saving of expense encouraged farmers to plant larger areas and thus to still further enlarge their crop production. The necessity of keeping the machine in good condition required an acquaintaince with its mechanical principles, resulting in a general increase of mechanical knowledge. Also the success of the reaper proved a boon to inventors, manufacturers, and agriculturists alike, in that it greatly stimulated the invention, production, and use of other agricultural labor saving implements. Lastly the increased employment of reaping machines released thousands of able bodied men for military service during the Civil War.

At times even the wisest of men see as through a glass darkly. Who could have said in 1830 that McCormick, a Southerner, would soon devise a machine for reaping grain which was destined to revolutionize the methods of agriculture throughout the world? Who could have said that during the critical years of the commercial exploitation of this implement, he was to receive the liberal and generous support which made it possible to introduce it to the country at large, not from his Scotch-Irish neighbors in the Valley of Virginia, but rather from the slave owning planters of the Piedmont and Tide-Water sections of the state? Who could have said that two decades later, the wide use of this same reaper, was to prove so potent a factor in assisting the armies of the North and West to overthrow the institution of slavery? And yet all of these things came to pass. The ways of Providence are indeed strange.

FOOTNOTES.

[1]The sources of information used in the preparation of this paper are varied and numerous, so much so, that I have not attempted to cite them in detail. However, a few bibliographical comments may not prove amiss.

Valuable material throwing light upon agricultural conditions in Illinois, between 1834 and 1865, will be found in certain agricultural periodicals, such as the Prairie Farmer, of Chicago; the Wisconsin Farmer and Northwestern Cultivator, of Racine and Madison, Wisconsin; the Michigan Farmer, of Lansing and Detroit, Michigan; the Western Farmer and Gardener, of Cincinnati, Ohio, and Indianapolis, Indiana; the Valley Farmer, of St. Louis; the Ohio Cultivator, of Columbus, Ohio; the Genesee Farmer, of Rochester, New York; the Cultivator, of Albany, New York; and the American Agriculturist, of New York City; the transactions of agricultural organizations including those of the Illinois State Agricultural Society; newspapers, such as the Chicago Journal and the Chicago Tribune; diaries, such as that of Robert White Summers, of Peoria, Illinois; correspondence of C. H. McCormick and others; gazetteers such as those of Mitchell; autobiographies, such as C. W. Marsh's "Recollections"; the transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society, and the Illinois Centennial History. Bidwell and Falconer's recently published "History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860," contains the most authoritative account of agriculture in Illinois during the period, which I have seen. Consideration of the social aspects of agriculture, which are lacking in this volume, will probably be supplied when the researches of Messrs. Ross, Russell, and other students of A. O. Craven, of the University of Illinois, are published.

The literature already mentioned contains a considerable amount of information concerning the development of agricultural machinery, including the reaper. In addition, there exists much special literature relating to this subject. The historical section of Loudon's "Encyclopaedia of Agriculture," offers useful material relating to ancient and mediaeval agricultural implements, as well as an extended discussion of the development of English machinery. The Farmers' Magazine of Edinburg; The transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society, Woodward's "Appendix to English Patents," and Ardrey's American Agricultural Implements, present further documents bearing on the evolution of reaping machinery.

Many of the above publications contain detailed information about McCormick, Hussey, and other agricultural inventors and manufacturers. Further data about them will be found in the correspondence of C. H. McCormick; the records and papers of the various McCormick Companies; the records of the United States Patent Office; the records of Congress; the records of the United States Courts; various newspapers, such as the Lexington (Virginia) Union, the Staunton (Virginia) Spectator, the Richmond (Virginia) Whig and Enquirer, the Albany (New York) Evening Journal, the Cincinnati (Ohio) Enquirer, and the Gem of the Prairie, of Chicago; agricultural periodicals, such as the American Farmer of Baltimore, the Farmers' Register of Petersburg and Richmond, the Southern Planter, of Richmond, Virginia, and the New York Farmer of New York City; and mechanical periodicals, such as the Mechanics' Magazine and the Scientific American of New York City. The list might be extended.

A word of caution should be given regarding the materials contained in the sources cited. Due to the spirit of nationalism and the bitter trade rivalries of the period, propaganda and prejudice are everywhere present and it is only after considerable familiarity that one can wander among them with any feeling of security. Cleo as usual is tantalizingly elusive.

[2]Practically all of the sources cited in Note 1 can be found in the McCormick Agricultural Library, 679 Rush Street, Chicago.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1860.

By Charles B. Johnson.

The presidential campaign of 1860 was without doubt the most important political contest in our country's history. This, because it resulted in the election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency, and the tremendous consequences that followed that epoch-making event.

Of those old enough to be in touch with that memorable campaign, only a few, a very few, are left to tell its story, and as I happen to be one of this few, I am tempted to try and narrate some of the things pertaining to that contest.

In 1860 there were four presidential tickets in the field as follows: The Republican Ticket was represented by Abraham Lincoln of Illinois and Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, candidates for president and vice-president respectively. The Northern wing of the Democratic party represented by Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois and Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia. The Southern wing of the Democratic party represented by John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky and Joseph Lane of Oregon. Lastly, a hastily gotten-up and short-lived organization known as the Constitutional-Union Party represented by John Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett of Massachusetts.

Of the presidential candidates, Abraham Lincoln was the least known and Stephen A. Douglas by far the best known. At the time of his candidacy, John C. Breckinridge was serving as vice-president under James Buchanan, who was president of the United States. John Bell was a well known Tennessee politician who had long been in public life, and had served his native state in various capacities. Strange to say, while Bell was the only candidate who ran on an avowed union ticket within less than twelve months thereafter he became a citizen of the Southern Confederacy, and so remained till its downfall in the spring of 1865.

Among the candidates for vice-president, Edward Everett, who it is said became such with great reluctance, had the distinction of being in a class to himself. He had been governor of Massachusetts, ten years in congress, minister to England, Secretary of State under President Fillmore and finally U. S. Senator. He also served, for a time, as president of Harvard College, a position he resigned on account of ill health. He was a polished orator and this and his broad culture and exceptional scholarship gave him a nation-wide reputation. Unlike John Bell, his co-candidate on the Constitutional-Union ticket, Ed-

ward Everett was a stanch supporter of President Lincoln in his efforts to sustain the union and suppress what in the Civil War era we were wont to call the Great Rebellion.

It was said above that Stephen Arnold Douglas was by far the best known of the four candidates in 1860. This statement only expresses half the truth for, really, he was the best known man in the public life of his day. He came to Jacksonville, Illinois in his twentieth year, and first sought to earn a little money of which he was in great need, by teaching school. Next he studied law, soon got a good practice, was elected Attorney General of the State, next served a term in the State Legislature, in 1840 became Secretary of State, in 1843 was elected to Congress, in 1847, when but 34 years of age, was elected to the U. S. Senate, and here, as while in the lower House, he was chairman of the Territorial Committee, and as such it fell to his lot to introduce bills for the admission in the Union of Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, California, Oregon, and finally Kansas, and for organizing the Territories of Minnesota, Oregon, New Mexico, Utah, Washington, Kansas and Nebraska.

The bill for the organization of the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, which came to be known as the "Kansas-Nebraska Bill", most unfortunately for Douglas and most unfortunately for the American people, contained a proviso that proved to be little better than a poisonous political fang. The proviso repealed the Missouri Compromise that for a full third of a century had served to restrict human slavery to a line of latitude below 36°30′.

It is perhaps safe to say that no piece of proposed legislation in the country's history had excited as much personal animosity as did this, but finally after months of the most bitter controversy and a brutal personal assault on Senator Sumner by Preston Brooks of South Carolina, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill passed both houses and received the signature of President Pierce, a New England man, and became a law.

Very promptly after the passage of this bill came a desperate struggle between the advocates of slavery and the friends of freedom, and as Kansas lay immediately west of the State of Missouri, organized bands of the rougher elements of the state rushed into the new Territory and at once assumed all rights of citizenship. To counteract this, emigrants from the free states sought homes on the fertile prairies of Kansas. However, these last were compelled to reach the land of promise by a circuitous route which in most instances led through the free state of Iowa. The advocates of slavery followed up their advantage, by meeting at Lecompton and adopting a constitution making Kansas a slave state, but this instrument carried fraud on its face from the fact that many who voted for its adoption were citizens of Missouri. So glaring was the fraud and deception in all that pertained to the Lecompton constitution, that Senator

Douglas, author of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill that permitted human slavery to serpent-like, wend its slimy way into what had been the free northland, took a decided stand against it in the United States Senate. This course of Senator Douglas brought about a break with the Administration Democrats under the lead of President Buchanan, who boldly avowed that the adoption (fraudulently) of the Lecompton constitution by the people of Kansas made their commonwealth a slave state just as surely as was South Carolina. But despite this avowal, Kansas failed of admission at this time. While on this subject, let it suffice to say that in the end emigrants from free states came to Kansas in such numbers that in January 1861 it took its place among the free states almost without question.

Previous to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, Senator Douglas was one of the most popular men in the country, but after the repeal many of his hitherto devoted followers deserted him, and so pronounced was the opposition to his course that in hundreds of instances in the North he was hung in effigy. But notwithstanding all this so winning was Douglas' personality that he could still number devoted friends in many hundreds of thousands, and in 1860, of the four candidates for president, he was unquestionably, personally the most popular.

The decade before the Civil War was the era of the weekly newspaper and if a family subscribed for a newspaper at all, it was invariably a weekly. As to the daily, the average reader never so much as saw one. In the county seat and in the larger towns, a few, generally a very few, would take daily papers. Thus it will be seen that newspaper conditions in the decade of the fifties were very different than what they are today, when practically every family has access to one or more dailies.

This plethora of daily newspapers makes the way of the "spellbinder" hard and relatively few will go to hear him, for the reason that practically all know as much about his political theme as he does. Vastly better were his chances in the fifties, when the most indifferent political speaker was certain to have his meetings well attended, and command a respectful hearing. Today the average man hesitates to go across the street to hear a speaker of national reputation.

The conditions that obtained in the fifties carried on through the presidential campaign of 1860, when in the fullest sense, it could be said that political campaigning "was in flower." Consequently, there were speakers *galore*, and no locality was neglected—every "nook and corner" was supplied with one or more speakers who almost always found interested hearers in plenty.

The larger meetings were called "Rallies", and the first of these that I attended was held in Greenville, Bond County. Bond County was the place of my nativity and the locality where my grandfather, Charles Johnson for whom I am named, reared

his cabin in the timber a half mile north of the present town of Pocahontas. This was in 1817, while Illinois was yet a Territory. My grandfather was a native of North Carolina, from which state he was a soldier in the war of the Revolution. In a small way, he was a slave-owner, but he soon came to see the evils of that institution, and consequently was moved to wash his hands of the whole vile business. Carrying out this resolution, he got rid of his slaves and headed for the Northwest Territory, that by the ordinance of 1787 was made forever free soil. With several North Carolina families, feeling as he did, my grandfather with these in 1801 started for the far away Northwestern free-soil.

From Bladen County, their home, not a great distance from the Atlantic Ocean, they made their way—some on foot, some on horseback and some in ox-wagons, across nearly the whole width of North Carolina, and finally across the mountains not far from the present city of Asheville, then on into the, at that time, new state of Tennessee, where they found a temporary home and reared their cabins in Dickinson County. Here they remained some years for one cause and another. Doubtless, one of these causes was fear of the Indians who later sided with the British in the War of 1812. At the close of that war, peace was made with the Indians and accordingly the North Carolina emigrants left their cabins in Tennessee and in 1817 all found homes in Bond County. Among these emigrants, I recall the names of Hunter, Volentine, Mills and Plant. These families intermarried, and became permanent and useful members of the new community.

My grandfather had six sons who grew to manhood and reared families who like their North Carolina ancestor detested human slavery, and while none of them were avowed abolitionists nor allied with the "under-ground railway", yet they never wavered in their opposition to human slavery. With these facts in mind, it need excite no wonder when it is stated that no sooner was the Republican party organized in 1856 than all my grandfather's descendants promptly gave their adherence to that organization.

My father, James Johnson, made the overland trip to California in 1849 and found his grave at Sacramento soon after reaching the gold country. Nevertheless, he had somehow managed to instill in a young, growing family a hatred for slavery that remained with each and every member ever after. This hatred for slavery was emphasized in the fact that among my grandfather's descendants, every male of the right age and proper physical fitness served in the Union Army, and one laid down his life in the bloody battle of Chickamauga. Even the husbands of the female descendants, who were found fit, enlisted and went to the front in the then enemy's country.

At the inception of the eighteen-hundred and sixty campaign, I lacked a few months of having reached my seventeenth birthday, but notwithstanding my youth, I soon became interested and let no opportunity pass to hear speaking.

Early in the campaign, a largely attended "rally" was held in Greenville, Bond County, when the chief speakers were Senator Lyman Trumbull and the older Richard Yates, candidate for governor. Senator Trumbull was a logical speaker, and had the ability to put everything in clear understandable language. Richard Yates was eloquent and had the general reputation of being the possessor of a silver tongue. Judge Joseph Gillespie of Edwardsville, a sturdy character and life-long friend of Lincoln's, was chairman and introduced the speakers. When Trumbull and Yates had spoken there was an earnest call for Gillespie. "Gillespie", "Gillespie", was repeated a number of times, and in response Judge Gillespie arose and began by saying, "Ladies and Gentlemen: You have had your peaches and cream, and have been feasted on pound cake, and now all I will have to offer you is an oldtime dish of hog's jowl and greens." Having said this, by way of introduction, he proceeded to make a brief talk that was to the point and full of good sense.

There were the usual number of delegations, brass bands, and a great hay-rack with thirty-three gayly dressed young ladies, each of whom represented a state. But a new feature was the "Wide-Awakes", a goodly number of young men marching two and two, carrying wooden spears with tips painted to look like metal. At night the tips were replaced by lighted coal-oil lamps, while the bearer's shoulders were duly protected with oil cloth to prevent soiling of coat. At this meeting, the enthusiasm was almost unbounded. Pocahontas, Bond County, the place of my nativity, is ten miles west of Greenville. Ten miles west of Pocahontas is the Swiss town of Highland, and some weeks subsequent to the Greenville rally, one was held at Highland, where at one end of a large building speeches were made in English, and at the other end speeches were made in German, or was it Swiss, for I have since learned that Highland was originally settled by that people. I attended this meeting, and heard Senator Trumbull repeat almost word for word his Greenville speech and he was followed by Richard Yates, with the identical eloquent address I had heard at the Greenville rally. Finally, Judge Gillespie who presided, was called upon for a speech and in response he again referred to the pound cake and peaches and cream, with which the audience had been regaled and to the hog's jowl and greens which he was about to set before his hearers. But notwithstanding this repetition, I was an interested listener to it all.

At another date, a big rally was advertised to be held at Vandalia, thirty miles east of my home at Pocahontas. As I had relatives in Vandalia, I decided to attend the rally at that place. The day before the meeting, I rode with a friend as far as

Greenville, ten miles on the way, and, will the reader believe it, so interested was I in all that pertained to the campaign, that I walked the remaining twenty miles. Would any boy seventeen years old today take interest enough in a political campaign to walk twenty miles to hear the questions of the day discussed? Certainly not. In the Eighteen Hundred and Sixty Campaign, men and boys alike attended rallies from far and near, and listened attentively to the speakers.

On the platform at Vandalia was a crude picture which represented Abe Lincoln in the act of splitting rails. In the procession that preceded the speaking, was a log cabin on wheels, drawn by oxen and through its open door could be seen a youth intently engaged in reading a book.

After being properly introduced, Senator Trumbull delivered the same speech I had heard before and Richard Yates gave the same address I had likewise already listened to twice. But I sat on a rough, hard board and eagerly took it all in. My object in narrating my personal experiences in the eighteen-sixty campaign is to show the interest felt, and I can but believe that the average individual of that day entertained a like interest and patiently listened to the speaker, even in some cases to the same speeches for the third time, as I did at Vandalia.

The enthusiasm, in my locality at least, was for the cause the Republican party represented and not for its leading candidates for both Lincoln and Hamlin were little known by the average voter. Indeed, I think this average voter felt that as a presidential candidate Lincoln did not "measure up" for in his weekly, (and here, let it be said that the New York Tribune was taken and carefully read by the more intelligent of that day), he had learned of the vast experiences Senator Douglas had had in public life. He had also learned that John C. Breckinridge, candidate of the Southern Wing of the Democratic party, was a handsome man with a winning personality, and no little experience in public life. John Bell, candidate of the Constitutional-Union party was represented to have had much experience in public affairs, and had he lacked in this way, his running mate, Edward Everett, candidate for vice-president, was known by all to have had unprecedented experience in civic affairs. Meantime, Lincoln's experience in public life was confined to two or three terms in the state legislature at Vandalia in the thirties, while Illinois was as yet a pioneer state, and to an obscure term in Congress during the time of the Mexican War. Thus, it will be seen that in all that pertained to experience in civic affairs, Lincoln's three competitors for the presidency had the best of him by far. But in spite of this and other handicaps so intensely earnest and enthusiastic were the Republicans in prosecuting their campaign that all soon came to be almost confident of Lincoln's election.

Finally, the never-to-be-forgotten campaign of 1860 drew to an end, and the election day of that year, November 6, proved to be an ideal day in every way, and this enabled all the voters to reach the polls and cast their ballots. Good weather was especially favorable to the Republicans for many of these lived on farms distant in many instances from voting precincts and which clear skies and warm sunshine made more easily accessible.

Well, in less than twenty-four hours after the polls closed on that memorable sixth day of November the whole world was apprised of Abraham Lincoln's election to the presidency.

At that time there were 303 votes in the electoral college and of these Lincoln received 180, Breckinridge 72, Bell 39 and Douglas 12. Lincoln carried all the electoral votes of the northern states save three of the seven votes of New Jersey which went to Douglas. Breckinridge carried all the electoral votes of the slave states save Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia which went to Bell and Missouri which went to Douglas.

The total popular vote was 4,680,193 of which Lincoln received 1,806,452, Douglas 1,375,157, Breckinridge 847,953 and Bell 500,051. In round numbers Lincoln received but about two-fifths of the popular vote but this vote was so fortunately distributed that it secured him 180 electoral votes, or 29 more than a majority of the whole electoral vote. On the other hand while Douglas received only a little less than one third of the popular vote this was so unfortunately distributed (so scattered) that it secured him only 12 electoral votes.

After Lincoln's election some of the opposition made the charge that he had won the presidency because of his obscurity and one opposition paper gave voice to the query, "O, who will write this ignorant man's state papers?" One can but wonder what these over anxious people had to say when later they were privileged to read Lincoln's Gettysburg address and his second inaugural.

PIONEER BAPTISTS OF ILLINOIS

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In the weaving of the fabric of a nation religion and the church are the warp upon which the texture of our civilization has been fashioned. The church has emerged while the state was still formless in the organization of a raw, new society; indeed, in many, if not most, instances in our earlier history religious liberty or missionary zeal was the inspired motive for the building of the new state. While these were not the predominant motives nor the first to appear as definite objectives they, none-the-less, played an important part in the beginning and development of our great Commonwealth of Illinois.

The French Jesuit missionaries were the first white men to appear in the Illinois country, but their activities, important though they were in the conquest of the savage wilderness, may be left out of account as not directly connected with the development of that which is called the State of Illinois. It was the English speaking immigrants following in the wake of the intrepid Clark's brilliant conquest who laid the foundations of this Commonwealth. And among these foundations, before ever a state was thought of or even a territory organized, and while in this virgin wilderness there were still less than a half dozen small settlements of American pioneers in the American Bottom, was the foundation of Protestant Christianity. Baptists claim no monopoly in this religious pioneering. Side by side with them were the Methodists and following closely upon them were the Presbyterians.

The leaders of the immigration to the American Bottom and the upland region adjacent (what is now Monroe County) were from Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia and Kentucky, and most of them had been in the service of George Rogers Clark on his campaign of conquest. These families brought no church with them; they were perhaps not even professors of religion in the strict sense of the word, but they were a God-fearing, substantial people who kept the Sabbath as a holy day. In the New Design settlement, about four miles south of the present site of Waterloo, it was the custom of some of these families to assemble at one of the cabins on Sunday to receive some simple religious instruction under the leadership of Shadrach Bond, Sr. and Captain Joseph Ogle. For several years, 1781-1787, there was no Protestant minister in any of the settlements until the visit to New Design, in 1787, of Elder James Smith, a Baptist preacher from Lincoln County, Kentucky. As a result of Elder

Smith's preaching several leading families professed conversion, and among them Joseph Ogle and his son-in-law, James Lemen, Sr. Afterward Capt. Ogle became a leader of the Methodist faith while Lemen and four of his sons became notable Baptist preachers.

On a subsequent visit to New Design (1790) Elder Smith was captured by the Indians and was ransomed on the payment of $170 by the good people whom he had served at New Design. This trying experience terminated his missionary activities in Illinois and he returned to Kentucky. For two or three years the new converts kept up their religious meetings more or less regularly under the leadership of Judge Bond until the coming of the first Methodist circuit rider, Rev. Joseph Lillard, in 1793, who organized a class meeting. Early in 1794 Rev. Josiah Dodge, a Baptist minister of some distinction and ability, from Nelson County, Kentucky, visited his brother, Dr. Israel Dodge at St. Genevieve, Missouri, and hearing of the religious interest at New Design spent some time preaching in the settlement. The fruit of this ministry was the baptism of four people, James Lemen, Sr., his wife Catherine, John Gibbons and Isaac Enochs, the first Protestants to be baptized in Illinois. When in February 1794 the ice of Fountain Creek was cut and this Christian ordinance administered according to the distinctive belief of Baptists the initial step was taken toward the establishment of the Baptist Church in Illinois.

The years following 1795 saw an increasing tide of immigrants into Illinois from Virginia, Kentucky and the Carolinas, many of them communicants of various churches and among them a good percentage of Baptists. Not the least of the incentives which inspired their seeking new homes in the land of promise was escape from persecution in the Episcopal dominated states. The occasional visits of itinerant preachers and lay exhorters became more and more frequent to the Illinois settlements and revivals of religion became more common. It is no disparagement of the earnest piety and sacrificial devotion of these pioneer preachers to say that they were illiterate for the most part and wholly untrained except in the hard school of a barbaric frontier. They expounded the scriptures literally and with exceeding fervor according to the meager light which was theirs. In fact, fervor amounting almost to frenzy often took the place of spiritual discernment. Sermons were characterized by length, voice power, violence of gesticulation, and emotional appeal. A very simple thought, or no thought at all, could be drawn out to two or three hours length to the accompaniment of much ranting and cavorting "full of sound and fury and signifying" something to the intellectual and spiritual hunger of a primitve people.

A striking exception to the usual type of pioneer preaching was that of the learned Scotchman, John Clark, who first visited

New Design in 1796. This man of God who walked with God found his power in a rare beauty and simplicity of soul and in a winsome personality of extraordinary charm. Little wonder that everywhere he went he was affectionately called Father Clark. In a crude society destitute of schools worthy of the name he made a distinct contribution to the advancement of education. Many of the founders of this great State owed the inspiration of their careers to the teaching of Father Clark. Young men of promise and ambition received instruction from him in the higher branches of learning. The whole territory of settlements was his parish; he was comforter, counsellor, teacher and friend. Homeless himself, no home but welcomed him gladly; every fireside was his own. Like Goldsmith's village preacher,

"A man he was to all the country dear

. . . . . .

He was more skilled to raise the wretched than to rise

. . . . . .

But in his duty, prompt at every call,
He watched and wept, he prayed and felt for all."

About 1792 Father Clark severed his connection with the Methodist Conference in Georgia where he had begun his career as a circuit rider, and went to Kentucky as an independent preacher, thence to Illinois in 1796. He was the first Protestant to carry the gospel across the Mississippi into Louisiana Territory (1798). Being dissatisfied with his independent position he gradually came to the Baptist doctrinal point of view and entered into an agreement with a Methodist friend, Rev. Talbot, of similar views, whereby they baptized each other and became Baptists in formal though not very regular way. His work in the gospel ministry was wholly that of an itinerant missionary accomplished by long journeys on foot from settlement to settlement both in Missouri and Illinois. Never was the journey too long or the hardships and dangers too great for him to meet his appointments punctually. In at least one instance he walked all day and all night without food or rest to keep from disappointing an expectant congregation. But as John Mason Peck, himself a pioneer missionary of incredible powers of endurance observed, "Any man in the vigor of life who could not go without food for twenty-four hours, and more especially a preacher of the Gospel, ought to be sent back where he came from to the kind care of his friends." Father Clark received not one cent of pay for any of his labors, being content with the homespun clothing and simple fare which every home was glad to furnish him. His was the nearest approach to an apostolic ministry of which we have any account in modern times.

The first organized church of Baptist believers in Illinois was the result of a series of meetings conducted at New Design in 1796 by Elder David Badgley of Hardy County, Va., and a lay exhorter by the name of Joseph Chance. Fifteen converts

were baptized by Elder Badgley and the New Design Baptist Church was constituted with twenty-eight members. Elder Badgley assumed pastoral charge of this new church after removing his family to Illinois in 1797. Another church of fifteen members was formed next year near Harrisonville, fifteen miles west of New Design, under the ministry of David Badgley and Joseph Chance. In the decade following three other Baptist churches were constituted, Richland, Woodriver and Silver Creek. These five churches all in Monroe County, St. Clair and Madison were organized in 1807 into an association called the Illinois Union, and the associational statistics of that year show a total membership of 62 and four ordained ministers.

Two years after the formation of the Illinois Union a division of the Association occurred over the slavery question. This disruption is said to have started from a vigorously outspoken, and perhaps tactless, declaration made by Elder James Lemen, Sr., against correspondence with slave holding Baptists of Kentucky. As a result of this split there were three associations for a time; two of them, the pro-slavery and the anti-slavery groups, having drawn out of the original Illinois Union. The anti-slavery Baptists called themselves Friends of Humanity and took the position previously taken by a similar faction in Kentucky (1805). They condemned slave traffic except for purposes of emancipation and slaveholding except as charity to aged and dependent negroes. Doctrinal differences probably played some part in the divisions. There were among the Eastern Baptists and the early Baptists of Kentucky and also of Illinois, two groups known as the Regulars and the Separates. The Regulars were rather strongly Calvinistic and accepted the Philadelphia Confession of Faith as their creed; the Separates were noncredal and moderate Calvinists. This schism had, however, been partially healed among western Baptists before the division over the slavery question. Division is a characteristic of Baptists, speaking generally, and is at the same time both a source of strength and of weakness; of strength, in the complete automony of each separate congregation of believers and entire liberty of conscience; of weakness, in the matter of lack in effective, unified organization.

James Lemen's part in the anti-slavery controversy deserves further notice. He was by conviction a stalwart antagonist of slavery; and so were his sons, one of whom took a positive position on the question as a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1818. James Lemen founded the settlement of New Design in 1786 and throughout a long life of service he was a recognized leader of prominence both in the Baptist denomination and in the civic affairs of pioneer Illinois. There is a tradition, unsupported by any verifiable evidence, that while he was still a citizen of Virginia he entered into a compact with Thomas Jef-

ferson to come to Illinois and help hold the Territory against slavery.

The main thesis of this sketch is, naturally, the greatest of all the pioneer Baptists of Illinois, John Mason Peck. From the time of his arrival as a missionary in Illinois in 1818 until his death in 1858, the history of the Baptist denomination is pretty much the life of this remarkable man. And the many-sidedness of his character and activities and the far-reaching importance of his service, quite apart from purely denominational history, make his life in large part the history of his times. He both wrote and made Illinois history. It is the history of organized missions, of State-wide Baptist enterprise, of educational progress, of temperance reform, of the Sunday School movement, of immigration promotion, and of the anti-slavery struggle, in all of which John Mason Peck was a prime mover and guiding spirit. A man of great native force, of exceptional powers both of mind and physique, of organizing ability amounting almost to genius, of indomitable will and strength of purpose and holy zeal that knew no limits of time, place or condition, he accomplished an amazing variety of achievements during the forty years of his pioneering in Illinois.

In his early life as farm boy in Connecticut his opportunities for education were extremely limited, but he acquired enough schooling to begin his career at the age of eighteen as a teacher of country schools. A most vivid experience of Christian conversion led him to feel an irresistible call to the ministry, and his high sense of the requirements of this office impressed him with the necessity for further, more liberal training. This he contrived to get in spite of the obligations imposed upon him by a young family and the exacting labors of teaching and preaching. He studied diligently for a few months under the direction of Principal Barnes of Duchess Academy in Poughkeepsie, New York, and later spent a year in the home and under the tutelage of Dr. William Staughton, famous Baptist pastor and scholar and trainer of ministers, in Philadelphia. This was the rather limited training Peck received for his great life work as missionary to the Western country; the remainder of a liberal education had to be pieced out as necessity in the severely transforming school of experience dictated. It is noteworthy that Harvard conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1851 in recognition of his attainments.

For an explanation of the origin of Peck's mission to the West it is necessary to review a bit of Baptist history in the East. In 1812 Adoniram Judson and Luther Rice went out as missionaries to India. Changing their missionary connection after arriving in India, Rice left Judson to carry on in Burma while he returned to America to solicit support and to organize the first foreign missionary enterprise among the Baptists of America. The movement started with the organization of the

Massachusetts Foreign Missionary Society. Through the tireless efforts of Rice all the Eastern and Southern States were enlisted and the first Triennial Convention of American Baptists was formed at Philadelphia in 1814, which may be regarded as the beginning of the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society. On Peck's first contact with Luther Rice he caught the spirit, as of living fire, of that flaming missionary evangel. It was Luther Rice who gave Peck a vision of the needs and possibilities of the Western field, a vision which was to grow ever larger with the unfolding years of his service. With this vision was born the whole vast Home Missionary enterprise which now includes a continent for its field; and it was this vision which inspired Peck to take a year of intensive training under Dr. Staughton in preparation for this specific work. The second Triennial Convention, which met in Philadelphia in 1817, recognized its obligation to the Western wilderness as at least secondary in importance to its obligation to heathen India, and it set apart John Mason Peck and James E. Welch as missionaries to the Missouri Territory.

When Peck arrived with his family in St. Louis in December 1817 he was a dangerously sick man from exposure suffered in the last stages of the hard journey. The hundred twenty-nine days of travelling had been made by wagon across the States to Shawneetown, thence by boat to St. Louis. On his recovery two months later he and Welch set about vigorously the organization of the Western Mission at St. Louis which included the establishment of an academy, an elementary free school, a Sunday School, a Bible distributing station and a church—a notable achievement for the first few months in this utterly wicked cosmopolitan trading post on the American frontier. The colored race was especially blessed as a result of these missionary labors.

The work of Peck and Welch took them far afield into the outlying settlements of Missouri and Illinois. Early in 1818 Peck made the first long journey through the Illinois settlements, visiting churches and preaching to communities destitute of churches. Subsequent trips to Illinois, some of them 300 and 400 miles in length, in the months that followed were frequent. In addition to the stock of Bibles and tracts which he carried for distribution he took part of his library with him and relieved the tedium of the hours spent in the saddle by study. In consequence he often missed his path and had to retrace his steps. He was not a stranger to hunger and cold and hardships of every kind that abound in the wilderness.

"One object," he says, "never lost sight of in my travels, was to examine into the condition of schools; and I found at least three quarters of all masters and schools were public nuisances and ought to have been indicted by the Grand Jury." He labored with effective influence to better these conditions by inducing the employment of educated young men from the East

in substitution for the dissolute adventurers who usually held sway. His first and most important concern was to bring about the organization of the churches into a missionary union having for its objects to aid in spreading the gospel, to promote common schools, and to provide for a trained ministry. This organization, which adopted the constitution proposed for it by Mr. Peck, took for its name "The United Society for the Spread of the Gospel" and was the parent of the present Home Missionary societies. He solicited funds for its support and organized women's auxiliaries called Female Mite Societies. In all this he met a determined opposition from a class of earnest but illiterate preachers of considerable influence who had deep-grained prejudices against an educated and salaried ministry, against Sunday Schools and missionary endeavor of any kind. Peck met this anti-missionary influence with statesmanlike patience but he says of some of these ignorant preachers that they were as afraid of a dictionary as of a missionary. The opposition to his progressive program was not due wholly to ignorance. It drew its strength to no little extent from the Baptists of Virginian and Carolinian origin. Their forbears had had an unhappy experience in Colonial days of tax-supported prelates, many of them educated young upstarts, scions of nobility sent out to America to find easy berths. To such unholy men they had been forced to pay the tobacco stipend or its equivalent in money if tobacco was cheap; and they came to have an abiding suspicion of all educated or salaried ministers.

Against all obstacles of ignorance, prejudice, indifference, poverty of means, primitive conditions, long distances and inconvenience of travel Peck labored untiringly and with rare singleness of aim. He had one overmastering purpose, "a single great ideal in his soul; to lay the foundation of a Christian civilization in the midst of rude and unpromising conditions." Incredible as it may seem, within three years after the formation of the new society no less than fifty good schools had been established. New churches and associations were constituted, extending northward to Sangamon county and eastward to the Wabash; Sunday Schools and Bible societies were formed while the Sunday School movement was still in its infancy in the East. He records one trip alone, occupying 45 days, on which he covered 830 miles on horseback, preached 27 times, gave numerous lectures, organized five Bible societies, attended four Baptist Associations and two Methodist Camp Meetings; and this was one of his less successful trips. In the first decade of his work his organizing ability had created at least a dozen distinct agencies, many of them interdenominational, all co-operating to the one supreme end of Christianizing the frontier. This same organizing genius brought the churches into closer unity of associational fellowship and bound them to the national denominational interests.

In this, the hundredth anniversary of the founding of the first college in Illinois, it is most fitting that the memory of its founder should occupy the center of interest. Shurtleff College and John Mason Peck are the proper subjects of memorializing this year. The great dream of Peck's life was the establishment of a college for liberal training of preachers, teachers and missionaries. He began his missionary career by establishing an academy in St. Louis. The conditions in St. Louis proving unfavorable it was removed to St. Charles, Mo. in 1819 and the venture there terminated most unhappily within a year. Misfortunes of sickness and death in his family which reduced him to his last penny were capped by a crowning disaster in the stupid action of the Triennial Convention the same year in closing the Western Mission. Cut off from the support from the East and with no resources other than his pluck and his unwavering faith in the work to which he felt himself divinely called, with characteristic fortitude he set about to find a new adjustment. To provide for the support of his family he took up a half section of land at Rock Spring in St. Clair County. Here he built, largely with his own hands, a comfortable home which was to be his residence for the remainder of his life. Then he resumed his missionary labors with redoubled zeal, carrying on for two years without support from the outside until he fortunately established a connection with the Massachusetts Missionary Society.

All the while the dream of a college grew upon him. The greater part of the year 1826 he spent in the East in presenting the cause of Western missions and in soliciting funds for the building of a college. Less than a thousand dollars was raised, but nothing daunted, he called together at his home in Rock Spring a few of his staunchest friends and on the first of January, 1827 the Rock Spring Theological and High School was launched. A board of nine trustees was elected with James Lemen, Sr. chairman. Peck gave part of his farm for the site and proceeded to build a college, himself acting as financial agent, architect, superintendent, contractor, and builder. In September three buildings were ready for occupancy; a substantial two-story wooden structure which served as seminary and dormitory, a log cabin boarding hall, and a carpenter shop. The school opened in November with an enrollment of forty boarding students and a faculty of three members; Rev. Joshua Bradley, a graduate of Brown University, as Principal and John Russell as head of the high school department. Mr. Peck assisted when he was at home. Courses were offered in Christian theology, mathematics, natural philosophy, classics, English and history.

The limits of this paper do not permit of further details of this significant venture, of the removal of the school to Upper Alton in 1831, of the heroic struggles to sustain it, of Peck's

second visit to the East and the securing of a substantial endowment including the gift of $10,000 from Dr. Benjamin Shurtleff of Boston.

As an aid to the college enterprise Peck founded in 1828 the first religious periodical in the West called the Pioneer of the Valley of the Mississippi which he published with financial loss for many years. To the great pioneer's record of achievements in Illinois already mentioned, denominational and otherwise, must be added that he was chiefly responsible for the organization of three National bodies, the American Baptist Home Missionary Society, the American Baptist Publication Society, and the American Baptist Historical Society. And in the midst of labors prodigious and manifold as preacher, traveller, lecturer, reformer, missionary and executive he found time to distinguish himself as an author. A mere catalog of his principal writings must suffice; Early History of Illinois, Life of Father Clark, Life of Daniel Boone, Annals of the West, Pioneers of the West, Emigrants' Guide and Gazetteer of Illinois, and numerous contributions to various publications. What a record of prolific achievements for this builder of institutions in a pioneer civilization!

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THE WILD FLOWERS OF ILLINOIS AND THEIR PRESERVATION

JOSEPHINE CRAVEN CHANDLER.

Whoever, being inspired by patriotism or ambition, would essay the physiographic history of Illinois with any completeness of comprehension must approach the absorbing subject of its flora without other assistance than may lie within his own resources. For though, beyond all peradventure, God reigns in his heaven and the Government at Washington still stands, neither that powerful legislative body nor the Legislature at Springfield have taken note of this important factor in the land's natural wealth, and any inquiries on the subject addressed to the Agricultural Department at either place is, usually, referred to the Wild Flower Preservation Society of America for answer. That the soils that compose the earth's surface, the rocks that under and over-lie it, its forests, minerals, and the fishes in its streams should be guarded and conserved by the State and Nation while the plant life with which it is covered should remain unconsidered seems a gross neglect; an abuse, in fact, of one of those great sources of well-being and of pleasure which we should, in the chaste language of the Constitutional preamble seek to "preserve to ourselves and our posterity" forever.

It is strange indeed that the numerous and varied forms of plant life by which our flora is distinguished, involving, as they do, an economic relationship to the cogent problems of soil chemistry, preservation of "the balance of Nature", moisture conservation, to say nothing of their beauty and beneficence, should be left to the occasional and unsponsored consideration of scientists who have made the several regions of the state the subject of their individual research.

The bibliography covering the flora of Illinois astonishes by its paucity—not a single book having been devoted solely to the subject as a whole. Various men have written authoritatively on plant life in localities that have come within the special range of their attention. An ancient edition of Gerhard's "Illinois as it is" (1857) furnishes a still helpful chapter on climate, soil, plants and animals, and describes the plant societies of Central Illinois; Elliot Rowland Downing, University of Chicago, in his "A Naturalist in the Great Lakes Region," has given us the result of his investigations in the geology, soil conditions and climatic influences of the plant and animal life in the neighborhood of southern Illinois; Henry C. Cowles, also of the University of Chicago, has treated "Plant Societies in Chicago and Vicinity" in Bulletin number 2 of the

Geographic Society of Chicago. The Botanical Department of the University of Illinois is authority for the statement that T. J. Burrell's "Catalog of Flowering and Higher Flowerless Plants of Illinois", in the ninth report of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois Industrial University (1878) is the nearest approach to a flora of Illinois existing, and adds, piquantly, "though out of date it is still useful."

Aside from these items, certain valuable articles and pamphlets such as those covering the Apple River Canyon, by Herman S. Pepoon, the Ozark region in southern Illinois by Clarence Bonnell, together with half a dozen plant lists, for the most part incomplete or out of date, or otherwise unavailable, must satisfy the scientific instincts of curiosity and wonder that may lead the happy layman afield.

The land of Illinois lays claim to an interesting ecology for Lake Michigan on its north, the two great rivers that form so considerable part of its boundary, the central artery which has played an important part in its topographic development, and that surprising spur of the Ozark uplift that has crossed from Missouri to lose itself, eventually, under the coal beds of Kentucky, giving a mountainous character to southern Illinois, all conspire to produce a variety in climate and geographic phenomena that result in a wide range of plant and animal associations.

Though dune and canyon, flood plain and escarpment vary its topography, yet the predominating character of Illinois landscape is denoted by the name which the first white visitors to this region, the French missionaries, gave to the trackless, treeless plains or meadows that constitute the central portion of the State—the prairies.

The flatness of these plains is accounted for, we are told, by the visitation of that great ice sheet which once covered the State to the thickness of a mile or more. Geologists have discovered that after the sleep of the centuries was broken—a little matter of eighty thousand years, according to Croll—the Illinois river bore the burden of that enormous drainage forced upon it by the tardier retreat of glaciation in the St. Lawrence valley; a condition which, during its persistence, raised Lake Michigan to a level denoted by its old beach lines and poured its vast overflow down the valley of the Illinois, thence to the Mississippi and the Gulf.

Then to the land left naked through the centuries came new plant immigrants for its repopulation. One remnant, only, of the pre-glacial occupation remained. For with the slow southern advance of the glacier the coniferous forest—the pine association—the junipers and arbor vitae, star flower, false lily-of-the-valley, etc., together with the bog association, compelled as they were, to seek a temperature congenial to their survival, advanced steadily before it and, in turn, followed its retreat northward and so came at last to its original habitat on the

borders of Lake Michigan. The sphagnum-tamerack bog is no other than a souvenir of that pre-historic peregrination.

Downing tells us that, for the rest, the repopulation of the land derived from three centers. One being in the southwest, whose arid lands have bequeathed us many forms; one in the southeast, from which source most of our deciduous trees have come; and a third center, the Atlantic coast plain, has furnished the Great Lakes region many species identical with its own flora.

It was to these great prairies, then, rich with coarse grasses and teeming with many forms of life that, at about the time that Columbus reached the eastern shores of North America (to quote Dr. Snyder of Virginia, Ill.,) the great American bison, coming down from the failing pastures of the north, skirting the western end of the Great Lakes, and following the eastern side of the Mississippi River, arrived at Illinois.

The buffalo, the last and largest of the animal forms to inhabit our State, was eagerly welcomed by the Indians since he furnished them with an abundant food supply; turning them, as it is held by certain authorities, from an agrarian to a hunting people and releasing their energies for the more congenial occupation of war. However that may be, the last buffalo was seen in Illinois in 1816 and the last elk two years later. It was during the first quarter of the nineteenth century that the great tribal exodus of the red man began and was, within that time, very nearly accomplished, so that their analogous destiny seems to bear a definite relationship to the plant economy of the plains. For though the white man was now in undisputed possession of his pre-empted lands his agrarian thrift had yet not begun to make appreciable inroads on the general character of their flora, nor should do so till a half a century later.

Between the years of 1832 and 1843 a number of our eastern men and women having a distinguished place in letters visited Illinois and have left varied and brilliant pictures of the prairies as they appeared to them.

It was in 1832 that Wm. Cullen Bryant, whose brothers, John Howard, Cyrus and Arthur had already located at Jacksonville, paid a visit to our State. Though his Journal covering that period is not remarkable for its expressed admiration of our natural beauties of landscape—one allusion is to "the original prairie plants which are of strong and rank growth and some of which produce gawdy flowers"—yet his emotions experienced here, being "recollected in tranquility", according to the Wordsworthian formula, have resulted in the long, rhapsodic poem called, "The Prairies" and beginning:

These are the gardens of the desert, these
The unshorn fields, boundless and beautiful,

and a shorter, more precious tribute to one of our common prairie flowers, the painted cup:

The fresh savannas of the Sangamon
Here rise in gentle swells, and the long grass
Is mixed with rustling hazels. Scarlet tuffts
Are glowing in the green, like flakes of fire;
The wanderers of prairies know them well,
And call that brilliant flower the Painted Cup.

In the same year Washington Irving, the "Father of American Literature," already in the hey-day of his fame, made a journey to the interior of what is now the State of Oklahoma and recorded his impressions in a book called "A Tour of the Prairies" which appeared in 1835. It has been called a book of painting rather than of travel, both manners and scenery being implied. After a ride over the open prairie he wrote:

I should despair of being able to convey any idea to your mind of the glories of the autumnal flora, covering these immense natural meadows, like a rich carpet. God has here, with prodigal hand, scattered the seeds of thousands of beautiful plants, each suited to its season, where there are no hands to pluck and few eyes to admire. After the early grass of the spring begins to shoot up through the blackened surface of the scorched soil, it becomes spangled with a host of flowers the prevailing color of which are white and blue. These, as summer advances give place to a race in which red predominates and, when the yellow suns of autumn incline over the West, their mild rays are greeted by the appearance of millions of yellow flowers which, far statelier and of ranker growth than their predecessors, rise over their ruins and seem to clothe the undulating surface of the prairie with a cloth of gold. The great predominance of the *Heliotrope* and *Solidago* species gives this tint to the landscape; at the same time there are many showy and beautiful plants, products of the same season, of less glaring colors. Such are the *Asters*, from the large and beautiful species, which displays its clusters of blue and purple flowers in the brake, to the small, delicately leaved varieties seen in the more open grounds. You observe whole districts covered with the tall and striking flowers of the tall *Eupatorium* and everywhere among the long grass, the *Liatris*, or rattlesnake's master, shoots up and displays its spike of red flowers. Then there are the exquisite varieties of *Gentiana*, with their deep blue, and a thousand other flowers which I cannot undertake to describe. At this season the dwarf sumac, in hollows and on such parts of the prairie as have remained untouched by the autumnal fires, becomes a striking feature of the open ground from the blood-red hue of its leaves and fructification.

These impressions of the autumn landscape may be supplemented by those gained from a spring journey made by James Hall and recorded in his "Notes on the Western States," published in Philadelphia in 1838.

The first coat of grass is mingled with small flowers: the violet, the bloom of the strawberry and others of the most minute and delicate texture. As the grass increases in size, these disappear, and others, taller and more gaudy, display their brilliant colors upon the surface . . . . . the whole of the surface of these beautiful prairies is clad throughout the season of verdure with every imaginable variety of color.

The glories of the prairies burst upon their (the pioneers) enraptured gaze, with its widely extended landscape, its verdure, its flowers, its picturesque groves, and all its exquisite variety of mellow shades and shining light.

A not less ecstatic description covering the summer season comes from the pen of Mrs. Steel (1840), "A Summer Journey in the West":

. . . . . I started with delight(she writes). I was in the midst of prairie. A world of grass and flowers stretched around me, rising and falling in gentle undulations . . . . . Acres of wild flowers of every hue glowed around me . . . . . what a new and wondrous world of beauty! . . . . . More glorious ranks of flowers . . . . . Imagine yourself in the center of an immense circle of velvet herbage, the sky for its boundary on every side; the whole clothed with a radiant efflorescence of every brilliant hue. We rode thus through a perfect wilderness of sweets, sending forth perfume, and animated with myriads of glittering birds and butterflies . . . It was, in fact a vast garden . . . You will scarcely credit the profusion of flowers upon these prairies. We passed whole acres of blossoms all having one hue, as purple, perhaps, or masses of yellow or rose; and then again a carpet of every color inter-mixed . . . . When the sun flooded this mosaic floor with light and the summer breezes stirred among the leaves, the iridescent glow was beautiful and wondrous beyond anything I have ever conceived.

From the visits to our State of those two brilliant women, Lucy Larcom and Margaret Fuller, one would expect descriptive passages of great perception and beauty. The stay of the former covered several years. She arrived in 1846 and taught school at Looking Glass Prairie for a time; later attending and graduating from Monticello Seminary. Her "Elsie in Illinois" and many other poems reflect the impressions of those years. While Margaret Fuller on a visit to her Uncle in Ogle County (1843) was so moved by the beauty of that region that she was inspired to write several of her best poems while there. Her "Ganymede to His Eagle" was written beside a natural fountain of clear water that flowed from the foot of the very bluff on which the artists colony of painters and sculptors from Chicago have their summer home called "Eagle's Nest Camp." One of the many small willowed islands that dot the Rock river, just below, has been named "Margaret's Island" in her honor; and from the hill-top on which now stands Lorado Taft's heroic "Black Hawk" she wrote in her diary:

I think I was never so happy that I was born in America. Woe to all country folks that never saw this spot, never swept an enraptured gaze over the prospect that stretched beneath. I do believe that Florence and Rome are suburbs compared to this capitol of Nature's art.

The Bluffs were decked with great bunches of a scarlet variety of the milkweed, like cut coral, and all starred with a mysterious looking dark flower whose cup rose lonely on a dark stem. This had, for two or three days, disputed the ground with the lupine and phlox.

It was so that the prairies looked to the pioneers and to the visitors who came to Illinois in the early part of the 19th century. Since that day the plow has turned many a furrow in the rich clay. Of our 36,256,000 acres nearly half is devoted to corn and oats and wheat, alone. Scarcely a foot of "unreclaimed" prairie can now be found, and the most fruitful sources of its remaining flora are the roadsides. In such meager sanctuaries as these the plant forms that were once so abundant on our plains have taken refuge and, driven by the fructifying forces of life, here perpetuate themselves, ad infinitum. The native prairie grasses are all but exterminated. The buffalo grass, once so common, has become so rare that a few square

yards of it, preserved on some corner of a farm, is a curiosity; and the blue-stem and the drop seed tend more and more to yield to the clay loving blue grass deriving from Kentucky. Along our railroad rights of way, however, along road sides not too thriftily tended, in forsaken or neglected fields and hedge rows there may be found in their seasonal order: the shooting star of early spring, water hyacinth, wild onion, Culver's root, and golden old man. July gives us the brown-eyed Susans, the gold and purple cone flowers; late summer the blazing star, rosin weed, asters, golden rods and beggar ticks—these being typical flowers of the moist prairies. On upland prairies of dominating clay soil will be found pink prairie phlox, prickly lettuce, butterfly weed, prairie thistle, everlasting, and rattlesnake master; while white and pink clover adapt themselves to sandy and thin soiled lands.

To the problem of the preservation of these plant forms Dr. A. E. Waller of the department of botany, University of Ohio, in a paper read before the Ohio Chapter of the Wild Flower Preservation Society, made a suggestion that might be applicable to our own State or to the grouped States of the prairie section in the Middle West. Why not a prairie park? he asks. We have made parks of mountains, forests, canyons and cateracts; we have used them to commemorate shrines of all sorts and for the pleasure of recreation. Why not re-establish a portion of the prairie, introducing its native plant, and even its native animal associations, so that we of this generation and our children after us shall come into a just appreciation of this great natural beauty that our State has lost?

The University of Illinois is particularly interested in re-establishing the prairie flora. It seeks not only to encourage a style of architecture that shall suggest and repeat the horizontal lines of its open spaces but to promote a style of landscape architecture that shall have its inspiration in the ravishing beauty of the prairie. In 1915 its College of Agriculture published an elaborate and otherwise remarkable brochure prepared by Wilhelm Miller, Dept. of Horticulture, called "The Prairie Spirit in Landscape Gardening" that amply sets forth the idea embodied in its title. As a means of restoring the prairie flora he suggests a prairie reservation of a thousand acres to be re-stocked with native flowers, ferns and grasses to be held in perpetuity for the pleasure and refreshment of the people of the State, its educative value to be enhanced by an arboretum or Botanical garden large enough to teach the people the names of the plant forms kept there.

Such a prairie park (he writes) seems necessary to "recharge the batteries" of those who do the world's work. The millions who toil in the great cities ordinarily have but two weeks' vacation. Several states now provide a chance to camp in the wilds at the least expense. . . . The beauty of the wild prairie can be restored, in an impressive way, to one park in every Illinois city by means of a "miniature prairie" of the kind described by William Trelease.

"I wish a plan for a ten acre prairie restoration, surrounded by trees and shrubbery, in the borders of which perennial flowers may be grown in beds for botanical students. The center is to be thickly planted with bluestem and other wild grasses, amid which the characteristic prairie flowers, like sunflowers, gaillardia, compass plant, blazing star, are to fight for existence. How long it will take to restore anything like the thick sod of the wild prairie no one knows. But in two or three years there should be a strong suggestion of prairie wildness because the flowers will seem to float on a sea of grasses. This effect can hardly be produced in the ordinary hardy border, but it seems practical in any city park that can afford from two to five acres or more for such a feature.

Mr. Miller, adds, to the argument advanced by Mr. Trelease,

Every Illinois city should have in at least one park a "prairie border" —with grasses, composites, and other flowers labeled. It will not be like the prairie, but it will serve to teach the rising generation about the famous prairie flowers of which they read in novels and histories.

Among the landscape architects who have planted in the "Illinois way," consciously taking the prairie for their predominating motive may be mentioned: Mr. O. C. Simonds, whose work in Lincoln Park, Chicago, and in the park system at Quincy reflects the origin of this inspiration; Jens Jensen, who designed and planted Prairie River and the Prairie Rose Gardens in Humboldt Park, and the Conservatories in Garfield Park, Chicago; and Walter Burley Griffin, whose work at De Kalb, Decatur, Oak Park, Hubbard's Wood and other points shows his use of prairie symbols, and the profuse introduction of plant forms native to the locality to which they are restored.

It has often been stated, though without final authority, since no official botanical survey has ever been made in Illinois, that most of the wild flowers native to the temperate zone are to be found in Illinois. However this may be, though the prairie flowers predominate, various sections of the State show a flora highly peculiar to the geographic, and even geologic, conditions governing them, and offering to the naturalist ecologic groupings of plants that often cut across the taxionomic ones to which the more ideal conditions offered by the prairie are favorable.

Among the more interesting and important of these sections may be named the dune country in the Great Lakes region. Its ample treatment in an afore-mentioned work by Elliot Rowland Downing, "A Naturalist in the Great Lakes Region," is an illuminating example of the investigation, classification and interpretation which should, in all scientific justice, be meted out to Illinois as a whole.

Downing discriminates among plant societies roughly paralleling the shore of Lake Michigan: (1) the beach association; (2) the foredune association; (3) the cottonwood association; (4) the pine association; (5) the black oak association; (6) the mixed oak association; (7) the oak-hickory association; and (8) the maple-beach association. In each of these associations the whole range of plant life from trees to wild flowers is grouped and described. In a table which he appends to his chapter on

"The Dunes and their Plants," the names of 17 trees, 23 deciduous shrubs, 7 evergreen trees and shrubs, 6 vines, 106 herbaceous plants and 4 spore bearers appear.

In striking contrast to the flat lands of the dune country is the Apple River Canyon of Jo Daviess County in the northwest corner of the State. This county is a driftless area, the Illinois glacier having divided at a point considerably to the north and so passed it by on either side.

This gorge has been cut by the little Apple River to a depth of from 60 to 250 feet. Its floor, which is rock formed, is rarely more than ten rods wide and the slope of its cliffs never varies greatly from 45 degrees. The Galena dolomite through which the stream has worn its way for a distance of five miles is described as gray-buff in color, and many sheer cliffs, from 50 to 150 feet in height, have been carved in bold relief by this sculpturing agency.

Dr. Herman S. Pepoon, who is authority on the region, tells us that "these sheer cliffs are often tinted with a prolific lichen flora." To quote him further:

"With the exception of an occasional bald and sheer precipice of stone, vegetation is everywhere. Sixty or more varieties of trees are found within the first mile of the canyon's course. Shrubs and vines are rampant—nearly 500 species of herbaceous plants, many with beautiful bloom, grace the valley, the slopes and rocks and crags. Rare forms abound, finding congenial habitat in the sheltered depths of the canyon where no cold and blighting north wind ever blows. Since the Ordovician Period receded an interrupted reign of sun and rain, frost and sleet, has stimulated the growth and luxuriance of what must be very ancient habitants of this field Elysian."

Going farther south we find a notable group of canyons. The Illinois (in Starved Rock Park), the Kaskaskia and the Ottawa canyons, though water formed gorges have yet, owing to their differing geologic history, a distinctly different flora. These canyons are in that area that was covered by the Illinois glacier in the ice age, and are in that part of the Illinois valley characterized by the Silurian upheaval. Dr. Henry C. Cowles of the University of Chicago, has covered the plant societies of this region, as well as those of Chicago and vicinity in a pamphlet, with a plant list appended, but it is now out of print, and even the author could not discover one in his files.

Last, but highly important in the plant history of the State, must be mentioned the Ozark region in southern Illinois. The range of these hills, stretching across the state from Grand Tower in southwestern Jackson county to Shawneetown in Gallatin, are a spur of that rather considerable escarpment having its main trunk in Missouri. Their crest is in Union, Johnson, Pope and Hardin counties. They lie in a driftless area for the Saline river is supposed roughly to coincide with the farthermost limit

of glaciation in the State. Here the climatic influences from the north result in a confused zonation of plant life and conspire to produce a rich and varied flora. "Here," writes Clarence Bonnell, whose knowledge of this region is perhaps more thorough and intensive than that of any other man, "Here grow the cypress, the magnolia, the mistletoe and the canebrakes of the farther south by the side of the cedar, the hardy oak, and almost every other tree and shrub that grows near the northern border of the State. Here the gooseberry thrives in the shade of the persimmon, the violet occasionally blooms in January, and the wild duck sometimes makes its winter home."

Dr. Cowles, mentioned above, has also studied this region and has made for the splendid "Proposed Park Areas in Illinois," published by "The Friends of Our Native Landscape", a detailed study of the two southern tiers of counties. He has described in glowing terms the Fountain Bluff area (Jackson County) with its 4,000 acres in which are "many beautiful ravines, grottos and springs." "Its spring flowering display of the service berry, and later, of the dogwood," he tells us, "beggar description." He speaks of Womble Mountain, "which is the habitat of rare ferns and other interesting plants." The Wolf Lake area in Union county, "the only stand of the yellow pine in our state," is also the only habitat, in our State, of the wild Azalea. In Pope county, he tells us, in the neighborhood of Jackson Hollow, "are found many rare ferns, notably the filmy fern, known nowhere else in Illinois, or for that matter, in any northern state." And so on, covering the entire seven counties.

It is hoped by this brief sketch of the varied and interesting regions furnishing the natural plant wealth of our State to draw attention to the immediate need of conserving our heritage before it is too late—lost to us through indifference or stupidity or greed. Many of our rare plants are in danger of becoming extinct and some are already lost.

The chief cause of their deterioration other than the conversion of the soil to agrarian uses is, according to Albert A. Hanson of the Botany Department of Purdue University (and former President the Wild Flower Conservation Society) "our uncontrolled desire to pick flowers indiscriminately."

"Paradoxical as it may seem (he writes) folks who love the flowers most are the largest contributors to wild flower extermination. They are well-meaning, considerate, and kindly disposed, but in their ignorance they are despoilers of the beauty of the flora to an extent little short of vandalism. They invade the country side in automobiles that are brought back to the city heaped high with branches of flowering dogwood and red bud. They penetrate the woods and return with huge armfuls or basketfuls of the loveliest of woodland plants! They decorate their churches with the lilies of the field, their houses with ground pine and evergreens. Each spring these hordes descend

upon the fields, the forests and the meadows, tearing out that which they do not want, great heaps of wilting plants soon to be cast by the roadside in wilting masses. Wanton and indiscriminate, wicked and criminal in results, but actuated by kindly, esthetic impulses. Oddly indeed is their love of nature demonstrated by destroying her fairest products in such unlimited quantities. They do not know that the function of a flower is to produce seed so that the plant may be perpetuated. They are astonished when told that this indiscriminate picking is robbing the plants of their right to live."

It would seem that our first step towards awakening the public to this important issue should lie in persuading the State of the great need of a botanical survey. The University of Illinois has long wished to undertake this task. A member of the Department of Botany writes me: "It is a matter of regret to all of us here that this State is inexcusably backward in the matter of publications concerning the flora of the State. There are not, and never have been, any extensive and authentic publications dealing with this phase of our natural resources. It is our earnest hope that within the next few years we shall be able to supply this deficiency. . . ."

Once this survey is accomplished a proper basis shall have been laid for the working out of the economic problem involved in this branch of conservation: the problems of soil chemistry in relation to our wild flowers; their value as ground cover in forested regions (conservation of moisture etc.;) their service in preventing erosion on the hills and open spaces; their part in controlling the "balance of nature"; in holding back the delivery of heavy rain falls from the river courses, and the consequent devastating floods; their contribution to the honey crops by furnishing nectar to the bees; and last of all—and perhaps first of all in the last analysis—the grace and beauty with which they clothe the earth for the rejoicing and the consolation of the heart of man.

Protection by means of legislation is one of the important means to the conservation of our plant forms. Six of the rarer species of our wild flowers are so protected—the blood root, lady slipper, columbine, trillium, gentian and lotus; but the number is totally inadequate to the needs of the situation. Dozens of our most beautiful flowers are in imminent peril of extermination while our State is sadly unalert to the situation. Some states have very broad laws covering this subject. The Vermont law covers forty-five species of trees, ferns, mosses and flowers.

Sanctuaries for the protection and perpetuation of rare species are of considerable service. The Chicago Chapter of the Society for the Preservation of Wild Flowers has such a preserve. It has leased a natural tract of land near the city and has set it aside as a permanent home for native plants of the southern Lake Michigan region. "Bird Haven," the eighteen acre

tract of land near Olney, bought twenty years ago by Dr. Robert Ridgeway, the curator of the division of Birds of Smithsonian Institute, is a wild life refuge for thousands of birds and many wild flowers; the Morton Arboretum comprising 400 acres in Du Page county offers sanctuary for flowers as well as trees; and the Wychwood Preserve at Lake Geneva, given and endowed by Mr. and Mrs. Charles Hutchison for the protection of wild flowers and wild life are among the outstanding contributions of this sort to the problem of conservation.

And last of all we are to consider that immense factor in any war for peace—propaganda, or, if you please, education.

The tremendous labors of the Wild Flower Preservation Society have lead in this matter for years. By means of their excellent little magazine, "Wild Flower"; pamphlets, posters, slogans; information dispensed through many channels; co-operation with every organization having an interest in this work, they have forwarded this movement from its inception.

When it shall come about that the clubs, schools, newspapers and magazines, churches, farmer's institutes and public forums are sufficiently incited to a righteous war against the ruthless destruction of our vanishing wild flowers the cause will presently be won; and the beauty of the prairie and the forest, as expressed in its plant life, at least, restored to us forever.

THE WILD FLOWER PRESERVATION SOCIETY, INC.
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 3740 OLIVER ST., WASHINGTON, D. C.

In response to the large number of requests received for information as to which flowers need protection and which may be picked, the following list has been prepared. Special lists for each of the larger divisions of the country are in preparation.

Wild Flowers which should not be Picked, at least near Large Towns, or Tourists' Points.

Arethusa	Lady's slipper	Shin leaf
Bellwort	Larkspur (Ea. U. S.)	Shortia
Birdfoot violet	Lily	Shooting star
Bluebell (Mertensia)	Lobelia	Snow plant (Sarcodes)
Blue-eyed Mary	Lupine (Ea. U. S.)	Solomon's Seal
Cardinal flower	Mariposa lily	Spotted Wintergreen
Clematis	Mission bells	Star grass
Columbine	Orchids (all species)	Swamp magnolia
Dogwood (No. U. S.)	Oregon grape	Swamp pink (Helonias)
False indigo	Oregon sweet clover	Toothwort
Fritillary	Pansy violet	Toyon berry
Gentian	Phlox	Trailing arbutus
Ginseng	Pipsissewa	Tree anemone
Golden club	Pitcher plant	Trilliums
Ground nut	Putty root	Wild pink
Holly	Rhododendron	Wild indigo
Indian pipe	Rhodora	Winterberry
Jack-in-the-pulpit	Sea lavender	

Ferns, etc.: Maidenhair, Hart's tongue, Walking and Climbing ferns, and Ground pine.

Wild Flowers that can be picked in Moderation if the roots are not Disturbed and Plenty of Flowers are left to go to Seed.
(Woody stems should be cut off close to base of flowering branch.)

Anemone	Black Haw	Blueberry
Avalanche lily	Beard tongue	Bluets
Avens	Bell flower	Blue flag
Azalea*	Blue bottles	Butterflyweed
Baneberry	Bloodroot*	California poppy

*Rare and need protection in some localities.

Coral honeysuckle
Cranesbill
Day-flower
Dog-tooth violet
Dogwood (Mid. Ea. U. S.)
Dutchman's breeches
Flax
Foxglove
Galax
Godetia
Golden ragwort
Golden seal
Harbinger of spring
Hepatica
Huckleberry
Larkspur (West. U. S.)
Loosestrife
Lupine (Perennial)
Madrone
Marsh marigold*
May apple
Meadow beauty*
Meadow sweet
Milkwort
Mt. Laurel (I in N. E.)
New Jersey tea
Partridge berry
Pasqueflower
Passion flower
Phacelia
Red bud
Rose gentian
Rue anemone
Saxifrage
Shad bush
Skull cap
Snow berry
Spring beauty
Squirrel corn
Stagger bush
Star of Bethlehem
Trout Lily
Turtle head
Turkey beard
Violet wood oxalis (I in N. E.)
Violets (Entire leaved)
Water lilies
Wild bean
Wild roses
Yellow wood oxalis
Most ferns

Wild Flowers that can be Freely Picked with no Danger of Extermination.

Agrimony
Arrow head
Asters
Bee mint (Koellia)
Bindweed
Black-eyed Susan
Blazing star
Boneset
Bouncing bet
Bush clover
Butter and eggs
Buttercup
Chicory
Cinquefoil
Clover
Cream Cups
Cress
Cone flower
Daisy
Dandelion
Dogbane
Dye weed (Genista)
Everlasting
Evening primrose
Fall dandelion
Golden aster
Golden rod
Ground ivy
Heal-all
Henbit
Hounds tongue
Honeysuckle (Japanese)
Joe-pye weed
Lettuce, wild
Lupine (Annual West U. S.)
Milkweed
Morning glory
Mullein
Mustard
Nemophila
Orange hawkweed
Partridge pea
Pickerel weed
Poke weed
Queen Anne's lace
Red maids
Rosin weed
Sensitive pea
Speedwell
Spurge
Steeple bush
Stonecrop
St. Johns wort
Sunflower
Tick trefoil
Tidy tips
Touch-me-not (Jewel-weed)
Trumpet creeper
Vervain
Vetch
Wild carrot
Wild lilac
Yarrow
Yellow wood oxalis

This list is tentative and exceptions to the grouping may occur in some localities. Constructive suggestions along this line will be appreciated.

Lantern slides and prints for reproduction can be furnished of all of the above list.

*Rare and need protection in some localities.

LINCOLN LANDS AND LINEAGE

"A Typical American Migration"

By Louis A. Warren

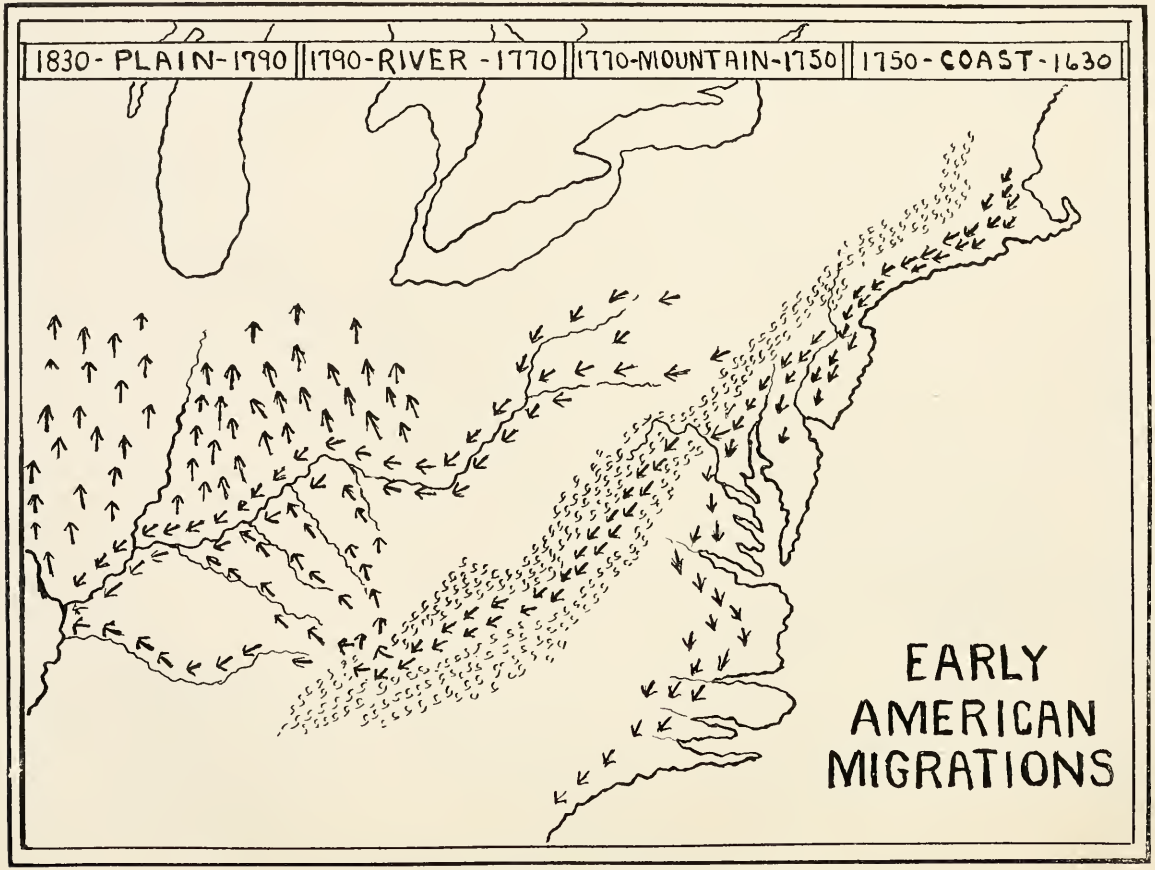
Lands and Lineage are two of the fundamental factors in any migratory movement. Large families demand wide acres, and the history of our development as an infant nation may be more accurately traced to expansion through necessity, rather than extension due to adventure. A plot of ground sufficient for the support of a man and his wife became inadequate when a half dozen sons or more, usually more, began to bring their brides home to the already overcrowded dwelling of the father. The young life was literally forced to seek new lands and build new homes. This resulted very often in whole families, and sometimes whole communities, seeking new locations on the frontiers, which was repeated with each maturing generation.

The trend of early American migration was largely determined by the topography of the country and the retirement of the Indians. The first two hundred years of migratory effort can be divided roughly into four periods, overlapping somewhat in point of time but following the same general sequence. The first period includes the migrations along the Atlantic coast line which were invariably to the southward. These might be called "coast" migrations. About 1750 the crest of this movement was checked and diverted from its course by the large number of home seekers reaching the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays which forced them away from the shore. The Alleghany Mountains, however, turned them back, and halting upon the banks of the Potomac their destination was usually determined by the point at which they crossed the river. Those crossing near where the City of Washington now stands continued the coast migrations southward, but those who went by Harper's Ferry, at the mouth of the Shenandoah River, formed a nucleus for the second period of migratory advance.

The rich valley of the Shenandoah was the enticing bait that drew into this mammoth ravine, formed by the Alleghanies on the west and the Blue Ridge on the east, a horde of settlers who soon occupied the limited acres. The pioneer never turned back, so the succeeding generations drifted down through this great natural groove until they reached its only outlet, at the southern extremity near Cumberland Gap. This was the period of *mountain* migration, directed by the two elevations, one on either side.

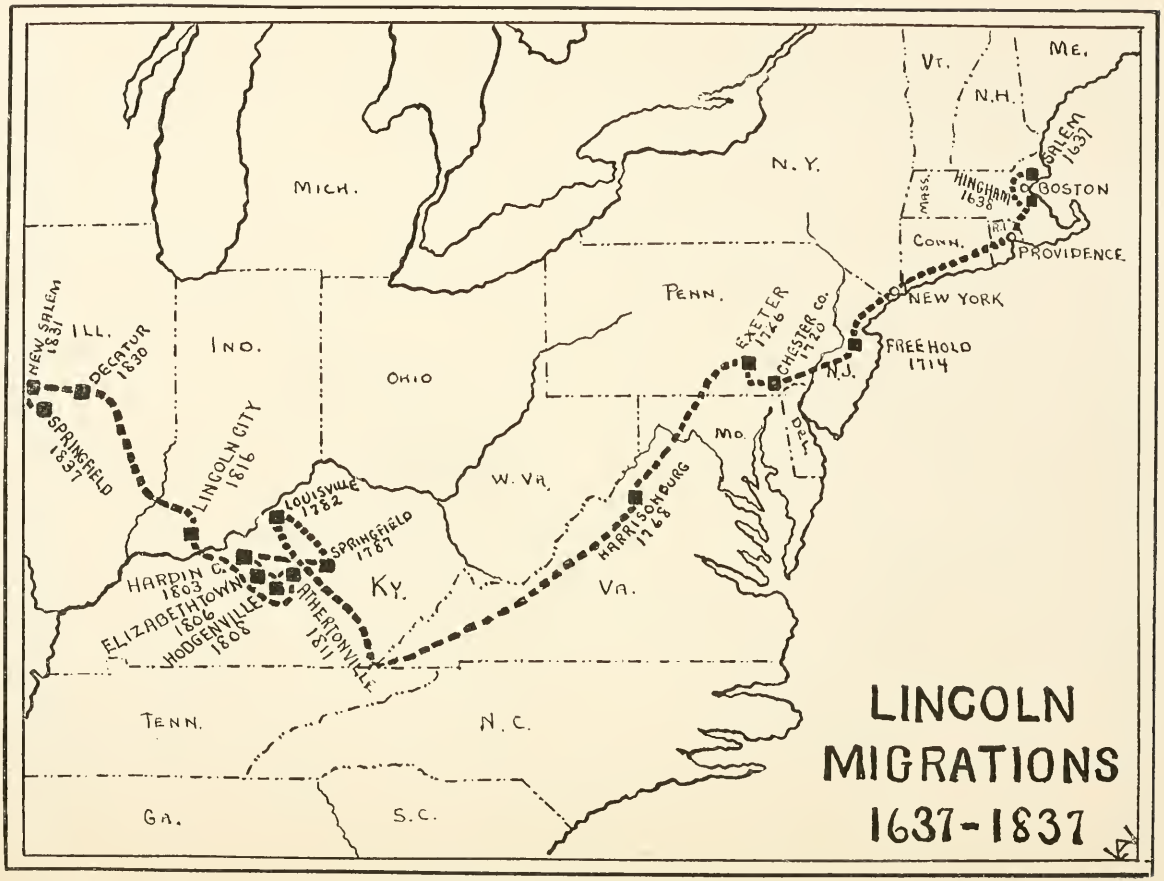
Here at the Cumberland Gap there gathered several family groups waiting for an opportune time to press on into the rich lands of Kentucky. The first efforts were made shortly after

Exhibit Number One



EARLY AMERICAN MIGRATIONS—1630-1830.

Exhibit Number Two



LINCOLN MIGRATIONS—1637-1837.

1770. Following repeated repulses by the Indians a few settlements were established. The Cumberland Road became the main artery of travel and from this path families began to follow down the rivers and establish their claims. For the next twenty years the population of the new country was largely scattered along the banks of the streams, and we have chosen to designate this era as the period of "river" migration.

The geographical obstructions to progress had now given way to a more serious impediment, in the American Indian, who fought every advance into the western country. It was not until 1790 that noticeable gains were made against the red men, and it was only as he retired from the streams to the more remote sections that the final period of early migrations could begin. Pressing on into the great plains of the northwest the Mississippi was finally reached, and the "plain" period of migration for the pioneers closed about 1830.[1]

At a season when so many of our American types such as Washington, Jefferson and Boone, are finding it difficult to retain their former prestige, it might seem foolhardy for me to introduce another character for national recognition. We very much need some historical personage who typifies the average home-seeking pioneer, or plain frontiersman; one who lived on the very crest of migration, but who was neither a hunter nor primarily a fighter. It stands to reason that no one person could represent all the early periods of migration extending over 200 years. We do have a family, however, that participated in these many migrations and within this family is one who is a typical representative of its migratory tendencies.

In 1637, Samuel Lincoln, who had migrated to America from England, left his port of entry, Old Salem, Massachusetts, for Hingham, Massachusetts, a few miles to the south.[2] In 1837, Abraham Lincoln, seven generations removed from Samuel, left New Salem, Illinois, for Springfield. During this interval of 200 years these seven generations of Lincolns took up succeeding residences in territories that later became seven different states of the Union. Down the coast, through the mountains, along the rivers, and across the plains they came, until they had traversed the country from the Atlantic to the great river.[3]

Samuel Lincoln, the first of the American Lincoln line in question, seems to have been the only progenitor of the president who could keep his family about him. Mordecai, his fourth son, like the rest of his eleven children, was born, married, and died in Massachusetts. The story of the succeeding generations is far different. Mordecai's son, Mordecai, Jr., was born in Massachusetts, married in New Jersey, and buried in Pennsylvania. Mordecai, Jr.'s son John, was born in New Jersey, married in Pennsylvania, and buried in Virginia. John's son, Abraham, grandfather of the president, was born in Pennsylvania, married in Virginia, and massacred in Kentucky. Abraham's son,

Thomas, father of the president, was born in Virginia, married in Kentucky, and passed away in Illinois. Thomas' son, Abraham, was born in Kentucky, married in Illinois, and assassinated in District of Columbia. This schedule is typical of the pioneer families of America.[4]

It is true that many migrations were direct from the eastern coast to the western plains, but the earlier migrations were a series of deliberate moves, not hastily taken, but with a well planned itinerary. The duration of these residences in the various states occupied by these Lincoln generations who were in the direct line of the president, makes an interesting exhibit. The seven representatives and the years they spent in the different states may be summarized as follows: Massachusetts, 72; New Jersey, 6; Pennsylvania, 42; Virginia, 14; Kentucky, 34; Indiana, 14; Illinois, 31.

We have discussed early migrations in general, and the movements of a certain family in particular. It is now our purpose to select from this family the one, who, to our mind, best typifies the spirit of the family. The choice falls upon Thomas Lincoln, father of the president. He not only lived longer than any of his predecessors, and in a greater number of communities, but he also lived at the time of greatest activity among the migrating groups. Six years he remained in Virginia; he removed with his father to Kentucky, while it was still a territory of Virginia, and ten years before it became a state. Thirty-four years later, at the age of forty, he crossed the Ohio River into the Indiana country just before it was accepted into the Union. After remaining there for fourteen years he migrated to Illinois at the age of fifty-four, finally settling in Coles county, which county was established about the time he arrived. His removal to Illinois in 1830 allows him to be classed among the pioneers in this state.[5]

Before we begin the task of following Thomas Lincoln through these four states and locate the land on which he lived we shall have just a word to say about the place of his birth.

The Lincoln and Boone names are inseparable in the history of Berks County, Pennsylvania, no fewer than five marriages having been contracted between the two families. One of these Boones, Josiah, took out a removal from the Quaker church, in Berks, on May 24, 1762. He evidently settled in the Linville Creek community, in the Shenandoah Valley, as he purchased land there some time later. John Lincoln came with his family about 1768 to this same community, possibly encouraged by Josiah Boone. John's eldest son, Abraham, Sr., married in 1770.[6]

Near the adjacent county seat, Charlottesville, two contemporaries, Thomas Jefferson and George Rogers Clark were then living, one to give us our greatest state paper, the other to make possible a priceless territorial possession. The senior Abraham's contribution was a son by the name of Thomas, who was to

Exhibit Number Three

THE LINCOLNS

NAME	BIRTH	MARRIAGE	DEATH
SAMUEL	ENG.	MASS.	MASS.
MORDECAI SR.	MASS.	MASS.	MASS.
MORDECAI JR.	MASS.	N. J.	PENN.
JOHN	N.J.	PENN.	VA.
ABRAHAM SR.	PENN.	VA.	KY.
THOMAS	VA.	KY.	ILL.
ABRAHAM JR.	KY.	ILL.	D. C.

SEVEN GENERATIONS

SEVEN GENERATIONS OF LINCOLNS.

Exhibit Number Four

LINCOLN CHRONOLOGY

ANCESTRY YRS. OF RESIDENT	LOCATION OF HOMES	PATERNITY YRS. OF RESIDENT
72	MASS	
6	N. J.	
42	PENN.	
14	VA.	6
34	KY.	34
14	IND.	14
31	ILL.	21
4	D. C.	

LINCOLN CHRONOLOGY.

father America's first citizen. Thomas was born with the republic in 1776.[7]

Abraham, Sr. had purchased from his father John, 210 acres of land as early as 1773, and it was on this farm that Thomas was born.[8] The beginning corner of the survey at the north boundary was on the bank of Linville Creek and close to this point stood the homestead. Abraham's brother Isaac, also purchased 200 acres from his father at the same time.[9] In September, 1779, Abraham purchased an additional fifty acres[10] to the south of his property. In less than five months, however, he had sold his entire holdings.[11] The same party that purchased his land had bought out Josiah Boone, and it is evident that at this time Abraham contemplated moving to Kentucky.

The 5,000 pounds, current money of Virginia, which Abraham received for his Linville Creek property he evidently spent for land warrants. With the assistance of Daniel Boone he was able to locate over 6,000 acres of land in the Kentucky country. His cousin Hananiah Lincoln, who evidently accompanied him, bought nearly 5,000 acres, and his brother Thomas, who came some time later bought 290 acres in the very heart of the bluegrass near Lexington. There may have been other lands in possession of these Lincolns, but if so they were sold before 1795.[12]

The homes which were occupied by Thomas Lincoln, father of the president, are of special interest to us. Of the six positive locations, the exact sites of five homes have been identified and the town within which the other was located is known. One other Kentucky tract in Cumberland County is thought to have been the dwelling place of Thomas Lincoln for a short time. These places where he lived are known by the names of the streams on which they are located. Four are on the tributaries of Salt River: Long Run, Beech Fork, Mill Creek, and Knob Creek. Two are on the waters of Green River: Middle Creek and South Fork of Nolin. The Cumberland County site is on Marrowbone Creek of the Cumberland River.[13]

The boyhood home of Thomas Lincoln was on Long Run. Of his father's many land holdings in Kentucky this is the only one he is known to have occupied. It was situated in Jefferson County, at a point where the counties of Shelby and Oldham join. The Lincoln family probably arrived here between the months of September and November, 1781. There is evidence that they went to live in the fort called Hughes Station, which stood on the adjoining tract of land to the north. It is likely that Abraham Lincoln assisted Morgan Hughes in building this station during his prospecting trip in 1780.[14]

This tract was officially surveyed for Lincoln in 1785. About 1885 Col. Durrett made a plat of this land copied from the original survey and located upon it, the site of the Long Run Church, and the nearby fort. This effort is as far as I know, the first and

only attempt, to plat any of the Lincoln Lands until my own investigation began about seven years ago.[15] Benjamin Bridges, who later gained possession of this four hundred acre tract divided it into four different farms and a surplus of seventy-six acres was shown.[16]

It was on this home site that the father of Thomas Lincoln was massacred while working in the field close by the cabin he intended to occupy, as soon as it became safe to move his family from the fort. Tradition says that Thomas Lincoln witnessed this massacre. He was then ten years old and had the similar experiences of many a pioneer boy. Born in Virginia; at the age of six taken over the Wilderness Road through the Cumberland Gap to the Ohio River near Louisville, Kentucky; lived for four years in a fort; present in the field when his father's life was taken by an Indian and in great danger of his own. These experiences all happening before he reached his eleventh year should allow us to think of him as a typical pioneer boy.

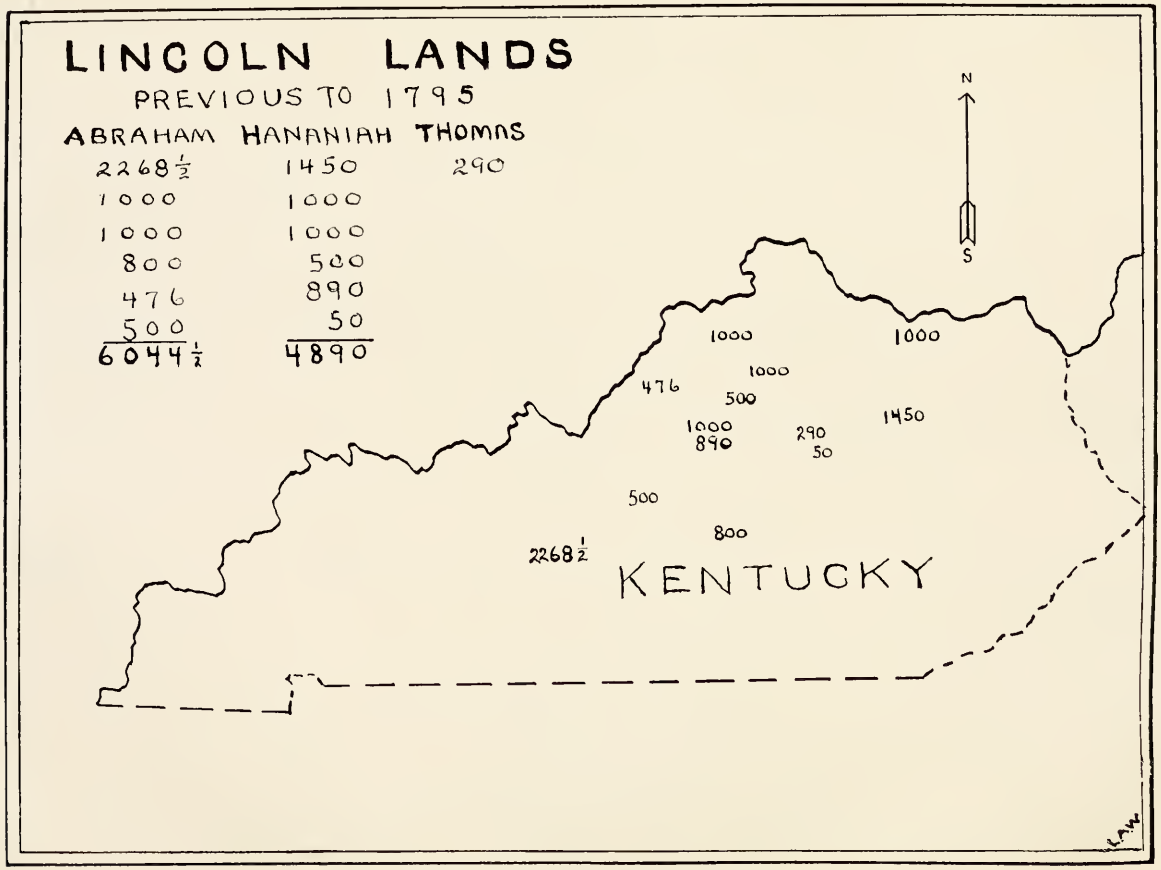
Shortly after the death of Abraham Lincoln, Sr., his widow moved her family of five children to Washington County. This was probably due to the fact that a considerable colony of Virginians from Linville Creek Community had settled there. Hananiah Lincoln, a cousin of the deceased Abraham, may also have been the moving spirit in this enterprise. He had borrowed money from Abraham a few years before which he invested in land on Beech Fork.[17] It is possible that the widow Lincoln may have settled on this land as no satisfactory explanation is available showing her title to the tract where her cabin was located.

While Thomas may have been away a year or two at a time it is likely that he still considered the Beech Fork location his home until his mother removed from Washington County. Sometime after Thomas resigned from the military company that was defending the frontier against the Indians, he went to live with his cousin Hananiah, near Elizabethtown in Hardin County. Here he did common labor until he accompanied Hananiah to Cumberland County in 1798. Hananiah was made the first sheriff of the county, and Thomas served as a constable. Here on Marrowbone Creek, Thomas came in possession of 200 acres of land.

He was soon back on Beech Fork, however, and by 1803 had witnessed the marriage of both brothers to neighbor girls, and both sisters to neighbor men. Three years later he was to come back to this community for his own bride.

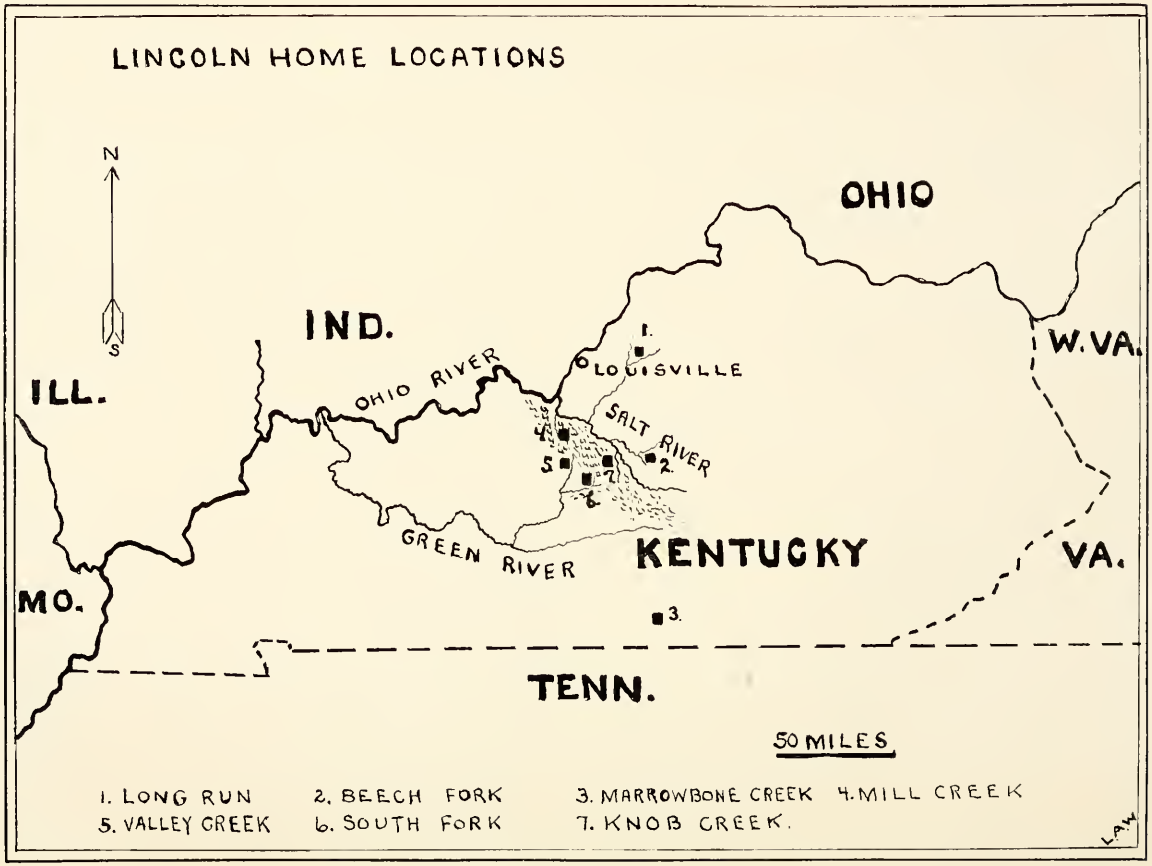
In the year 1803, Thomas Lincoln bought a tract of land on Mill Creek in Hardin County, containing 238 acres.[18] To this property he brought the Widow Lincoln and his sister, Nancy Brumfield, and her husband, William Brumfield. This purchase proved to be the beginning of Thomas Lincoln's difficulty with Kentucky land titles. When he tried to sell the property some years later he was advised that the farm was thirty-eight acres short of the amount of land for which the deed called. In making

Exhibit Number Five



LINCOLN LANDS PREVIOUS TO 1795.

Exhibit Number Six



Lincoln Home Locations (Ill., Ind., Ky.)

a plat of this survey I discovered the reason why Thomas was obliged to suffer a loss of 38 acres on this tract. Either the surveyor or the clerk made an error in copying one call so that the line read thirty-one degrees west when it should have read thirty-one degrees east.

When Thomas Lincoln married Nancy Hanks in 1806 he probably brought his bride to the Mill Creek home, but because of better opportunity for work at Elizabethtown, but a few miles distant, he secured a house lot there and erected a cabin. On the 1807 tax list he entered one house lot and the following year two house lots, within the town.[19] The location of these lots has never been determined. The site on Race Street so often mentioned as the Elizabethtown site, has no connection with the property of Thomas Lincoln, neither has the cabin which occupied this site after having been removed from another lot. It was the house in which Sarah Johnston, who later married Thomas Lincoln, lived during her widowhood.

While living at Elizabethtown in the late fall of 1808, Thomas and Nancy Lincoln bought a 300-acre farm on the South Fork of Nolin in what later became LaRue County. They were able to pay $200 cash for the property and after a few weeks moved to their new purchase.[20] Here Abraham Lincoln was born. I count the finding of the papers in this transaction, the most valuable discovery I have made in the Kentucky archives. It has forever removed the reproach resting upon the parents of the president, who tradition claimed were nothing but squatters on the property. The farm was by no means an isolated one, but occupied a rather prominent site on the Old Cumberland Road.

Another difficulty with land titles finally made Thomas Lincoln sacrifice this 300-acre survey which contained, actually 348½ acres. It is my opinion that he not only lost the $200 cash which he paid for the land and the labor and improvements on the place, but also the money he was obliged to expend in defending the suit. From that day until this, certain sections of this farm have been in constant litigation, and even now some parts of it change hands about once a year. The government is in possession of less than one-third of the original tract but it does own the old cabin site, the most important part of the farm.

It is possible that Thomas Lincoln may have had in his possession at the time Abraham Lincoln was born as much as 786½ acres of land, and two house lots. The minimum amount must have been 586½ acres. They remained on the Birthplace Farm but two years and I should like very much to know who were the tenants by the name of Harrison who occupied the cabin during the remaining period that Thomas Lincoln retained possession.

Discouraged with the faulty title to the South Fork land and attracted to the rich bottom lands of Knob Creek, Thomas Lincoln moved his family to a farm that had been some time before owned by the Boones. This change of locations took place

about the first of the year 1811.[21] It is difficult to learn just what claim Thomas had on the land on which he settled. Part of it he listed for taxes and apparently gained possession of the entire 228 acres. This was the playground of Abraham Lincoln and he lived here on Knob Creek from the time he was two years old until he was nearly eight. One of his school teachers, Caleb Hazel was his next door neighbor, and another, Zachariah Riney, lived on the old homestead formerly occupied by Joseph Hanks when he first came to Kentucky.[22]

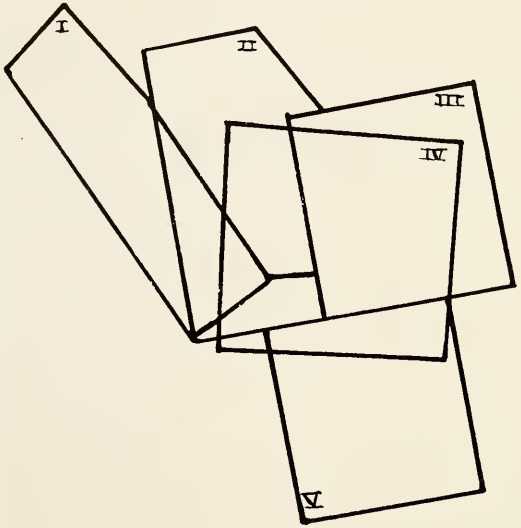
On the first day of January, 1815, not a very Happy New Year for Thomas Lincoln, a suit of ejectment was brought against him and nine other property owners occupying a 10,000-acre tract of land patented in the name of Thomas Middleton. The plaintiffs decided to make the case of Thomas Lincoln a test case and he was immediately thrown into litigation. Jesse La-Follette, grandfather of the late Robert M. LaFollette was one of the other defendants in the Middleton ejectment suit.[23] After several postponements of the case a change of venue was granted the plaintiffs and Thomas Lincoln still in litigation over the South Fork title decided it was time to make some decided change. Just a year before in selling the Mill Creek home he had been obliged to suffer a loss of 38 acres as heretofore mentioned. Abraham Lincoln said his father left Kentucky chiefly on account of bad land titles, and I think he struck it about right.

One who has never had occasion to do abstract work in Kentucky, which has required the tracing of titles and platting of surveys, has no idea of the difficulty experienced. As some one has said it would appear that the surveyor's compass was his eye and a grapevine his chain. One writer in commenting on the land laws says: "That of all the involved and complicated systems whereby an honest and confiding people were robbed of homes and fortunes the Kentucky land laws may be set down as most striking and peculiar." I have talked with many old persons who claimed their grandfathers were obliged to buy their farms four or five times before they could finally get a clear title. The surveys were continually overlapping with many claimants for the same piece of ground.[24]

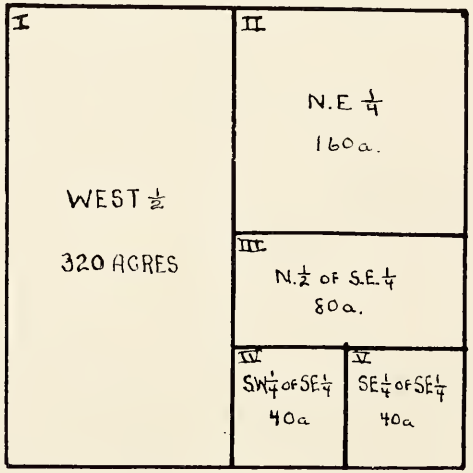
Lands that were surveyed by the state and titles that could be guaranteed encouraged Thomas Lincoln to move his family to Indiana. He was forty years of age when he settled on a quarter section of land, and soon as weather conditions would permit he journeyed to Vincennes where the land office was located and entered the tract.[25] Several years later a law made it possible for the settlers to relinquish such lands as they did not care to hold and allow the payments they had made on them to be credited to other properties they may have had in their possession. Thomas Lincoln took advantage of this law in 1827 as did his closest neighbor and twelve other citizens in the township, and relinquished one-half of his quarter section. The credit on this

Exhibit Number Seven

KENTUCKY SURVEYS

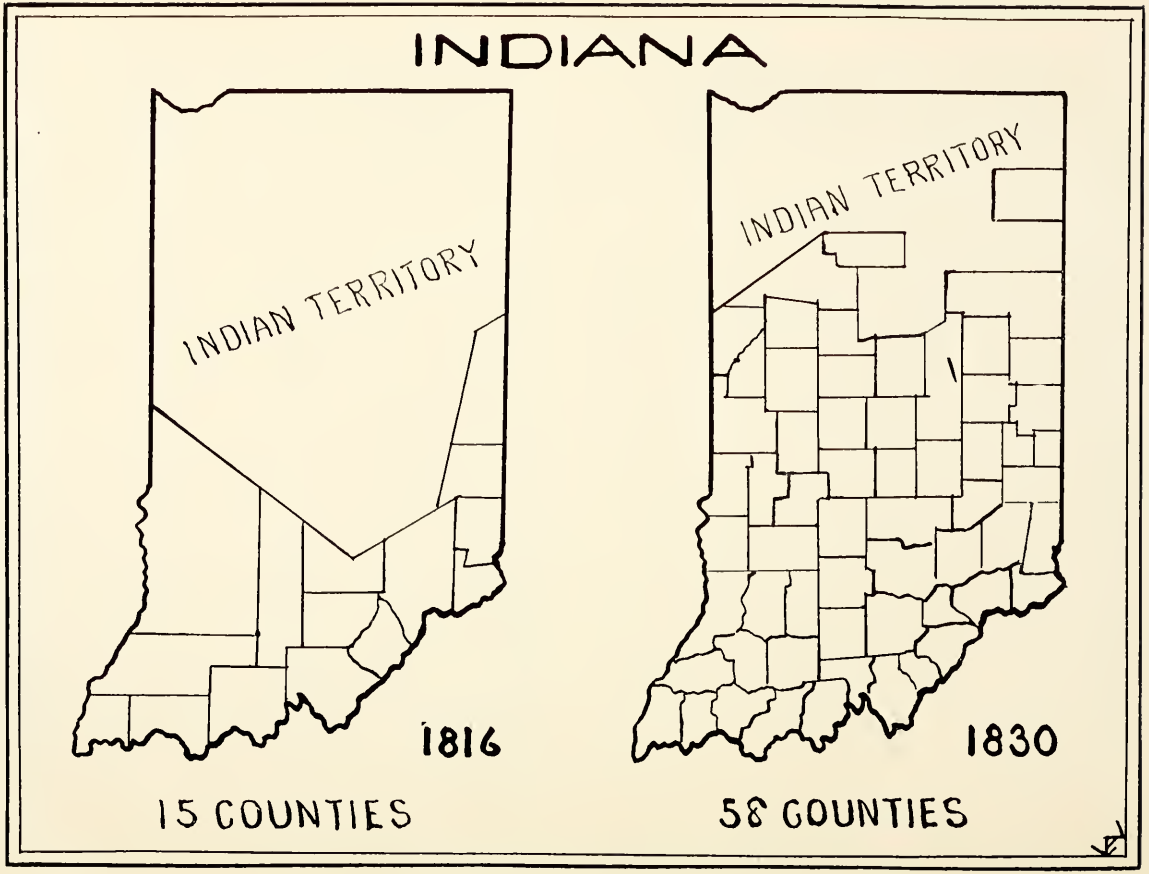


INDIANA SECTION



KENTUCKY SURVEYS—INDIANA SECTION.

Exhibit Number Eight



MAPS OF INDIANA SHOWING COUNTIES IN 1816 AND 1830.

completely paid for the other half of the quarter section he retained, and he was given a patent for that eighty acres.[26]

Aside from the land laws of Indiana, it is very likely that the family of Hananiah Lincoln, also influenced this move on the part of Thomas, as on two previous occasions. Although Hananiah, himself was probably deceased by this time, his son Austin Lincoln, lived not very far from Troy on the direct route the Lincolns would take to the Pigeon Creek home. While they settled in Perry County, soon after they arrived, a new county was organized and called Spencer County. For fourteen years Thomas resided on the same spot which would rather imply that his many moves in Kentucky were due to the uncertainty of land titles, rather than his own wandering disposition. In 1830, however, an epidemic similar to the one that had claimed the life of his first wife, Nancy Hanks Lincoln, started to sweep over the community and he decided to migrate to Illinois.[27]

There had been a marked development in the state of Indiana since the arrival of Thomas Lincoln in 1815, when but fifteen counties had been established. By 1830, however, fifty-eight counties had been organized.[28] Illinois had been keeping step with Indiana. In 1816, Illinois could boast of but eleven counties, but when the Lincolns arrived 51 counties had been set apart. Yet there were as many counties established in Illinois, after the arrival of the Lincolns as before. Coles County, where Thomas Lincoln finally settled was not organized until a few weeks before he arrived there. This is good evidence that he was moving on the crest of migration and his former locations bear out the same suggestion.[29]

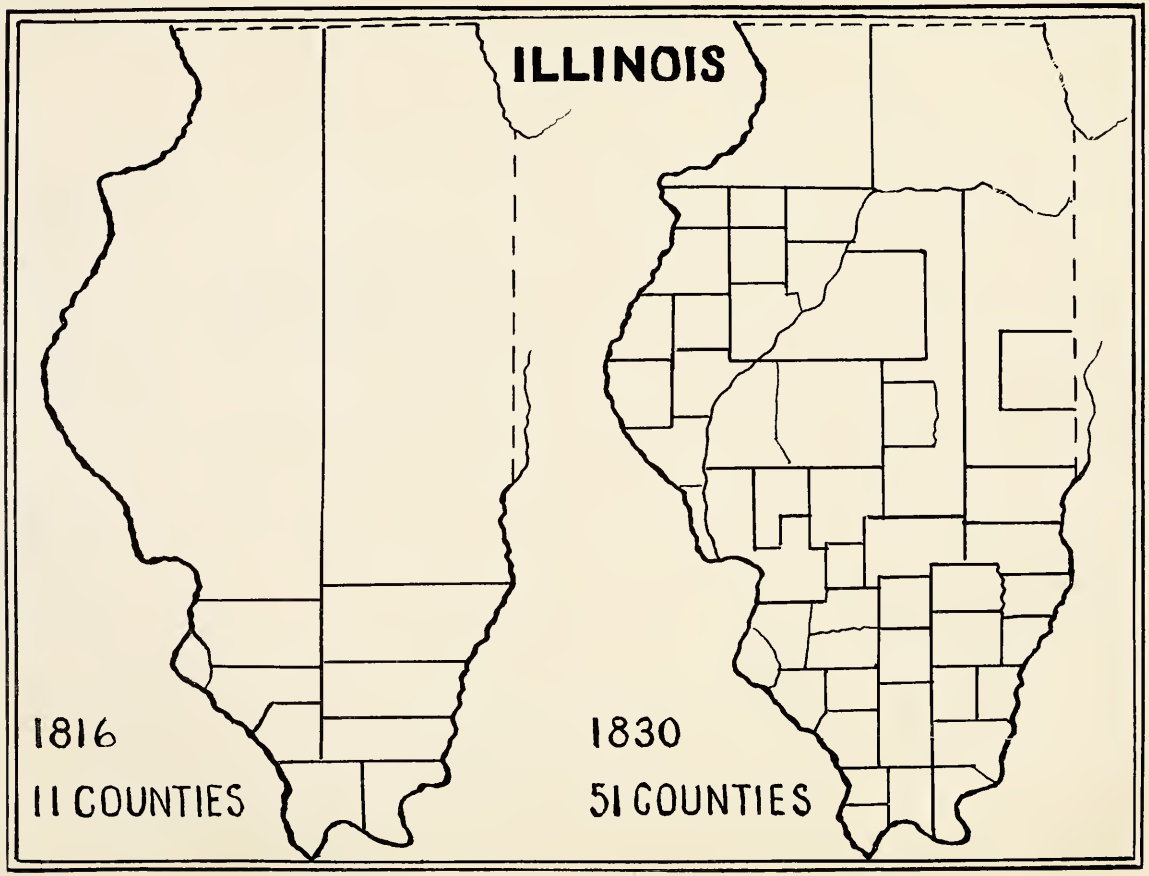
When his father settled on Linville Creek, where he was born in Virginia, it was in Augusta County, but later divisions located it in Rockingham. When the Pioneer Abraham Lincoln selected the land on Long Run, it was in Kentucky County, Virginia, but at the time of his massacre it was Jefferson County, Virginia, and later Jefferson County, Kentucky. At the time Thomas moved with his widowed mother to Beech Fork, their home was in Nelson County, but five years later it became Washington County. When Thomas purchased the farm on Nolin where Abraham Lincoln was born the site was in Hardin County, but later it became Larue. Upon his arrival in Indiana he located in Perry County, but soon the same home was in Spencer County. Thomas arrived in Macon County, Illinois, in 1830, it had just been established the year before, and Coles County where he finally settled was founded just a few weeks before his arrival.

It does not seem that it would be possible to select a family that better typifies the trend of early American Migration, than the family from which sprang Abraham Lincoln, the greatest son of the Pioneers. I do not think that there is a member of this group, that is more typical of the average pioneer farmer, than the father of Abraham Lincoln, and I should like very much

to see him recognized not only for his paternity of the president, but for his own perseverance that brought him through four states, at a time when two of these commonwealths were still unborn and the other two were in their very infancy. Buried here in Illinois soil, lies the remains of one, who to my mind, best represents the migratory spirit of the home seeking Lincolns, a Typical American Migration.

To summarize the genealogical features of this address, it might be well to retrace our steps, to observe after all how little we really know about the progenitors of Abraham Lincoln, and how insignificant in the face of all the evidence yet undiscovered, are the findings of this paper. Of the four grandparents of Abraham Lincoln, we have positively identified but one, Abraham Lincoln, Sr., the paternal grandfather. This cuts off all lines of ancestral research but the Lincoln line. It is true that we have many theories, as to who these other grandparents are, but we have no documents that speak with authority. I hold that the mother of Thomas Lincoln is as yet unknown, and still greater speculation surrounds the parentage of Nancy Hanks. When we realize that only fifteen of the possible 126 progenitors within the seven generations of Lincoln's forbears have been located, we marvel that so little progress has been made in this apparently overworked field. Our greatest need just now, is an authoritative lineage of Lincoln. Until we have this, we need not try to fathom Abraham Lincoln the most perplexing biological problem in American life.

Exhibit Number Nine



Maps of Illinois Showing Counties in 1816 and 1830.

NOTES

[1]Exhibit No. 1. Early American Migrations.
[2]Waldo Lincoln, "History of the Lincoln Family." p. 6.
[3]Exhibit No. 2. Lincoln Migrations, 1637-1837.
[4]Exhibit No. 3. The Lincolns, Seven Generations.
[5]Exhibit No. 4. Lincoln Chronology.
[6]Augusta County Court, Va., Marriage Register.
[7]Ky. Historical Society, Hardin County Tax Book, 1796.
[8]Augusta County Court, Va., Deed Book 19, p. 359.
[9]Augusta County Court, Va., Deed Book 19, p. 363.
[10]Rockingham County Court, Va., Deed Book O, p. 53.
[11]Rockingham County Court, Va., Deed Book O, p. 95.
[12]Exhibit No. 5. Lincoln Lands.
[13]Exhibit No. 6. Lincoln Home Locations.
[14]Jefferson County Court, Ky., Land Book A, p. 107.
[15]University of Chicago, Durrett Collection, Scrap Book.
[16]Jefferson County Court, Ky., Deed Book U, p. 251.
[17]Nelson County Court, Ky., Order Book 1791, p. 171.
[18]Hardin County Court, Ky., Deed Book B, p. 253.
[19]Ky. Historical Society, Hardin County Tax Books, 1807, 1808.
[20]Larue Circuit Court, Ky., McKelvy Fogle Suit, Box. 19.
[21]Hardin County Court, Ky., Estray Book, 1806-1815, p. 426.
[22]Nelson Circuit Court, Ky., Chancery Bundle, June, 1809.
[23]Hardin Circuit Court, Ky., Miscellaneous Bundle.
[24]Exhibit No. 7. Kentucky Surveys and Indiana Sections.
[25]Spencer County Court, Ind. Tract Book.
[26]Indiana State House, Auditors Office, Relinquishment Book.
[27]Spencer County Court, Ind. Deed Book B, p. 63.
[28]Exhibit No. 8. Indiana Counties 1816 and 1830.
[29]Exhibit No. 9. Illinois Counties 1816 and 1830.

McPIKE FAMILY NOTES

By Eugene F. McPike.

(1)———[1]Pike (?Pyke), a linen-merchant, Edinburgh, Scotland; perhaps of English ancestry, either direct or through Ulster. Some London Pykes did migrate to Ireland, *circa* 1650. According to one tradition, our linen-merchant, Pike or Pyke, married, (?about 1750), a Miss Stuart or Stewart, of Edinburgh, by whom he had one son, James. There is reference to a daughter who married a "M'Donald of Ireland" who was, presumably, of Scottish descent, for tradition says that, under the charge of one Macdonald, the son, James, went from Scotland to Dublin, to acquire a thorough military training. Another tradition, preserved in writing, declares, that the original Pike (Pyke) married, (? secondly), a Miss Haley or Haly (? Halley), of England. These traditions have been discussed, more at length, in another place. In any event, we assume that the Pike or Pyke, linen merchant, by one or both marriages, had issue:

(2) I. James[2] born *circa* 1751;

(3) II. A daughter.[2]

(2) James[2] McPike or MacPike, (formerly Pike or Pyke), born *circa* 1751, probably in Scotland, but apparently, not in Edinburgh. According to one tradition, he was educated in Edinburgh, but, as above stated, went, in his youth, to Dublin, for military training. This, like all traditions, is, of course, subject to verification. Another account, preserved in writing, says, that he came to America (Baltimore), in 1772, and served throughout the war of the American Revolution, under Col. Howard and "Gen. Little" (?) of Baltimore; also under command of Gen. Lafayette.

According to two traditions through different sources, he was in the Storming of Stony Point, under Wayne. He was, no doubt, identical with James McPike, Sergeant, in Captain Benjamin Fishbourne's Company, Fourth Pennsylvania Line, William Butler, Lieut.-Col. (See "Pennsylvania Archives", second series, vol. X., p. 496; also "Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography," Vol. XLII., pp. 90-91, January, 1918). Benjamin Fishbourne was aide-de-camp to Wayne. No complete roster of Wayne's Company is in existence. It is known that it included a number selected from the Fourth Pennsylvania Line.

A tradition recites, that our James McPike was wounded in one hand, at Stony Point. Some American sergeants were wounded in that battle, according to the official records. Other traditions say, that James McPike was in several (? seven)

engagements, and that he participated in the siege of Yorktown. Wayne's "Light Company" was, indeed, reorganized in 1780, under Lafayette, who led it against Cornwallis, in 1781. (See "The Storming of Stony Point," by Henry P. Johnston; New York, 1900.)

The earliest reference to the surname McPike, so far found, in the Americal colonial records, mentions "McPike's Preserve," surveyed for a John McPike, July 15, 1752 (see "Maryland Historical Magazine," Vol. XVI., p. 129; for 1921). This reference may have no connection at all with the ancestry of our James McPike.

List of Taxables in York County, Penn., for the year 1781: James McPike is assessed for £2-5/-0; and in Chester County, Penn., James and Robert McPike £2-17/-0. (See "Pennsylvania Archives").

The tomb-stone of a Sarah McPike, who died in 1784, is probably the oldest one standing in the churchyard of All Saints Parish, in Frederick County, Maryland (see "Historic Graves of Maryland and the District of Columbia," edited by Helen W. Ridgely; New York, The Grafton Press, 1908).

Several heads of families, surnamed McPike, were in Pennsylvania, in 1790, when the first Federal census was made. Some were living in the counties of Bucks, Fayette, Lancaster and York, but the name of James McPike is not reported among them. He was probably then in western Maryland.

The land records of Allegany County, Maryland (at Cumberland) mention two Settlers' Lots, originally allotted to "James McPipe" but patented later to Henry Myers, April 5, 1797. It seems quite possible, that this may be our James McPike. There was a large colony of New Jersey and Pennsylvania families on the Youghiogheny River (in Allegany county, Maryland) at that time. William Coddington, formerly of Middlesex county, New Jersey, was Justice of the Peace.

(2) Captain James[2] McPike, as he is described in written traditions, died at Newport, Kentucky, in May, 1825, having spent his declining years in the home of his eldest son, Joseph. The latter's daughter, Charlotte, (Mrs. Caldwell, formerly Frame), born in 1816, remembered clearly the death of her paternal grandfather and especially the firing of a military salute over his grave, as that of a Soldier of the Revolution. Mrs. Caldwell recalled, also, that James McPike, in his last illness, expressed a strong desire to live to see General Lafayette, then arriving in Cincinnati, who he said, would recognize him at once and call him by name. Some of James McPike's descendants are members of the Sons of the American Revolution (National No. 32809). His name appears frequently in the "Pennsylvania Archives" as of that period (1776-1782).

(2) Captain James[2] McPike (born *circa* 1751), married Martha Mountain, (?1782), probably in Western Maryland (near Somerset county, Pennsylvania), and had issue:

(4) I Joseph,[3] born *circa* 1783.
(5) II Richard,[3] born Dec. 6, 1791.
(6) III Elizabeth[3].
(7) IV Nancy[3].
(8) V Sarah[3].
(9) VI John Mountain[3], born Feb. 5, 1795.
(10) VII Haley[3].
(11) VIII George[3], died, single, in Indiana.
(12) IX Martha[3], married James Dickens.
(13) X. James[3], died an infant.

These ten children are here named in the order shown in an original manuscript, dated January 1, 1888, of data, dictated, about 1868, by John Mountain McPike, who died, in 1876, at Alton, Ill.

James and Martha (Mountain) McPike and their family, as then constituted, migrated, about 1796, by flat boat, down the Ohio River, to Maysville, Kentucky.

The Mountains came from Hampshire, England; a branch lived in Bucks county, Pennsylvania, before the American Revolution. One or more of its members migrated to Somerset county, Pennsylvania, just north of Maryland State line, and settled at Petersburg (the present post-office name of which is Addison). Dr. Howard Mountain, of Confluence, Pennsylvania, has collected considerable data about the early history of the family.

With these clues, it is evident, that more information on the McPike family might be recovered from local records in western Maryland and in Southwestern Pennsylvania.

(3) "Miss[2] M'Pike", the sister of our Captain James McPike, was born, presumably, about 1752-1755 (?). We know nothing of her, except the tradition, that she "married a M'Donald of Ireland," as already stated. The expression "of Ireland" seems to imply, that the marriage took place elsewhere than in Ireland, perhaps in England (? London), or in America (? Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey or Virginia).

(4) Joseph[3] McPike, (eldest son of James McPike and Martha Mountain, his wife), was born *circa* 1783-4, probably in western Maryland. He was a hatter at Newport, Kentucky. He bought furs or pelts, and, in this connection, made trips to Rush county, Indiana, where he entered some lands, and bought several lots in Rushville. He removed from Newport, about 1827, to Rushville, where he followed the same business. He died at Rushville, January 23, 1871. He married Sarah ("Sallie") Harris Lindsey (born in Ireland, died in Rushville before March, 1857), and had twelve children, of whom eleven died in infancy or young. The one surviving daughter, Charlotte, pre-

viously mentioned herein, married, first, Feb. 23, 1832, Dr. William Frame (died Oct. 11, 1849) and, secondly, June 7, 1859, Barton W. S. Caldwell. Descendants of her first marriage are now living at Rushville, Indiana.

(5) Richard[3] McPike (the second son of James and Martha Mountain McPike) was born Dec. 6, 1791, according to a manuscript record in his own handwriting. As his older brother, Joseph, was born *circa* 1783-4, it seems possible that one or more of their sisters, Elizabeth, Nancy and Sarah may have been born during the intervening years (?)

Richard[3] McPike may have been born in western Maryland. He was in War of 1812, under Maj. Jenkinson, Cincinnati Light Artillery; was living, April, 1828, at Carmi, White County, Illinois, from where he addressed a letter to his aged father: "Mr. James McPike, Newport, Ky." Richard McPike married Oct. 5, 1815, Maria La Rue (born Oct. 5, 1797), and had thirteen children. Many descendants are now living, chiefly in the State of Missouri, at St. Louis, Kansas City, Willow Springs, Overland, Leadwood and Desoto, but also in Bunker Hill, Illinois; Newport, Kentucky, and one in New York City.

Parenthetically, it may be well to remark, that another and seemingly unrelated family of McPike, migrated from Kentucky, about 1830, to Pike County, Missouri. To it belonged a James McPike, who married Mary Chilton. This James was a descendant of a Roger McPike, a soldier of the American Revolution of whose family an account has been written by Mrs. J. M. Turner, of 307 Hillcrest Ave., Louisville, Kentucky. There were descendants living in Palmyra and, perhaps, also in Bowling Green and Louisiana, Missouri.

(6) Elizabeth[3] McPike (eldest daughter of James and Martha Mountain McPike), married Jonathan Smith and had one child, Jannette, who married Christopher Blackburn, of Charlotte County, Virginia, and had one child, Catherine Frances Blackburn, (born Sept. 25, 1833) who married, first, Blair Patterson Hereford, and, second, Alexander Campbell Ellis; descendants of both marriages are living. Among them is her son, Wade Hampton Ellis, who was assistant to the Attorney General of the United States during the first term of President Taft (*see* "Who's Who.").

(7) Nancy[3] McPike (second daughter of James and Martha Mountain McPike) married March 28, 1809, Richard Lindsey (brother of Sarah Lindsey who married Joseph McPike), and had ten children. A comprehensive genealogy of Lindsey family is being compiled by Miss Helen B. Lindsey, of 251 Grandview Avenue, Clifton, Newport, Ky.

(8) Sarah[3] McPike (third daughter of James and Martha Mountain McPike) married a James Moorhouse and had issue.

(9) John Mountain McPike (third son of James and Martha Mountain McPike) was born at Wheeling, then in Virginia, Feb. 5, 1795. When about one year of age he was taken by his parents on a flat-boat, down the Ohio River, to Maysville, Kentucky. He used the spelling "MacPike," in 1821, and "M'Pike" in later years. About 1810, he commenced to learn the printing trade, with the firm of Looker and Reynolds, in Cincinnati. Tradition says, that he was a member of the Reception Committee on the occasion of Lafayette's visit to Cincinnati (? May, 1825). John McPike was commissioned, July 24, 1826, as lieutenant, Light Infantry, in the 55th regiment of the Indiana Militia, by Governor James B. Ray. He removed to Lawrenceburg, Dearborn County, Indiana, where he was the editor of "The Indiana Whig," published weekly, beginning April 18, 1834. He was an Associate Judge of Dearborn County, Indiana, 1830-1835; and Probate Judge, 1837. He was in Greenville, Illinois, in 1847, when he published "The New Era," a weekly, but finally settled at Alton, Illinois, about January, 1848, and published "The Monitor." He died in February, 1876, at the residence of his second son, Henry Guest McPike, Mount Lookout Park, Alton, Illinois.

John Mountain McPike married, at Cincinnati, March 9, 1820, Lydia Jane Guest (born June 13, 1803; daughter of Captain Moses Guest and Lydia Dumont, his wife), and had issue:

I. Edmond Hailey,[4] born at Cincinnati, Dec. 18, 1821; died at Calistoga, California, Nov. 12, 1915.

II. Henry Guest,[4] born at Lawrenceburg, Dearborn County, Indiana, July 5, 1825.

III. George Dunn,[4] born July 28, 1828; died Aug. 15, 1847; single.

IV. William Cowper,[4] born March 7, 1836; died at Kansas City, Mo., Feb. 3, 1911.

The eldest son, Edmond Hailey McPike (1821-1915), was in the Mexican War. He lived, at one time, in Alton, Illinois. Descendants are living, now, chiefly in California.

The second son, Henry Guest McPike (1825-1910), was a resident and active citizen of Alton, Madison County, Illinois, from 1848 until his death, April 18, 1910, which occurred at his residence, "Mount Lookout Park," in Alton. He was Mayor of Alton, 1887-1891.* He was thrice married, and children or descendants of all three marriages are now living; several in Illinois and some elsewhere. In all his later years, Henry Guest McPike used the spelling "M'Pike."

William Cowper McPike (the third surviving son of John Mountain McPike and Lydia Jane Guest, his wife), was born at Lawrenceburg, Dearborn County, Indiana, March 7, 1836. He removed, with his parents, to Alton, Illinois, early in 1848, where, about 1854, he engaged in the retail drug business. He went to

*A biographical sketch appeared in the "Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society," vol. V., pp. 261-267; (1912).

the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy, from which he graduated about 1862, then he went to Atchison, Kansas, where he founded the McPike Drug Company, afterwards moved to Kansas City, Missouri. He was widely recognized as the dean of the wholesale drug trade in the western states and for more than fifty years remained at the head of the extensive business that still bears his name. He died at Kansas City, Feb. 3, 1911, where some of his children still reside. His son, Avis McPike, is now President of McPike Drug Company. A biographical sketch of William Cowper McPike appeared in "McPike's Bi-Monthly" for February, 1911 (Kansas City).

With one exception, we have said something of every son or daughter of the original James McPike (born *circa* 1751), and Martha Mountain, his wife. Their fourth son, Haley McPike, was in War of 1812, under Gen. Shelby, Kentucky Militia. He married a Miss Shaw of Missouri, and had two sons, one of whom, John, died in Alton, Illinois. The other son, George, married and, according to tradition, went to Arkansas, before 1868.

We have devoted most of our space to the earlier generations of the family, because they represent the period concerning which any information would be most difficult to assemble in years to come.

As must be evident, this present paper is only an abridged abstract of the material collected, a key to which we have appended.

Eugene F. McPike,
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Chicago, Illinois.

KEY TO SOURCES:

(1) Original manuscript, dated Jan. 1, 1888, signed by Henry G. McPike (1825-1910) containing data dictated, about 1868, by John Mountain McPike (1795-1876); deposited July 1, 1899, in the Newberry Library, Chicago (catalogue No. MS. E-7 M241, "open folio case," genealogical dept.)

(2) Manuscript collections in possession of:
   (A) The Newberry Library, Chicago;
   (B) Miss Eleanor Sleeth, Rushville, Indiana;
   (C) Miss Helen B. Lindsey, 251 Grandview Ave., Clifton, Newport, Ky.
   (D) Eugene F. McPike, Chicago.

(3) "Tales of Our Forefathers," (Albany, 1898).

(4) *The 'Old Northwest' Genealogical Quarterly*, vol. VII., pp. 267-270; (Columbus, Ohio, October, 1904).

(5) *Magazine of History* (New York, 1905-1913).

(6) "Pike and MacPike Families," (a pamphlet, printed in Aberdeen, Scotland, December, 1927).

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No. 1. *A Bibliography of Newspapers published in Illinois prior to 1860. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D., and Milo J. Loveless. 94 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1899.

No. 2. *Information relating to the Territorial Laws of Illinois passed from 1809 to 1812. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D. 15 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1899.

No. 3. *The Territorial Records of Illinois. Edited by Edmund J. James, Ph. D. 170 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1901.

No. 4. *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1900. Edited by E. B. Greene, Ph. D. 55 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1900.

No. 5. *Alphabetical Catalog of the Books, Manuscripts, Pictures and Curios of the Illinois State Historical Library. Authors, Titles and Subjects. Compiled by Jessie Palmer Weber. 363 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1900.

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*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. I. Edited by H. W. Beckwith, President of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library. 642 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1903.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. II. Virginia Series, Vol. I. The Cahokia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. CLVI and 663 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1907.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. III. Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858. Lincoln Series, Vol. I. Edited by Edwin Erle Sparks, Ph. D. 627 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1908.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IV. Executive Series. Vol. I. The Governors' Letter Books, 1818-1834. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Clarence Walworth Alvord. XXXIII and 317 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1909.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. V. Virginia Series, Vol. II. Kaskaskia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. L and 681 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1909.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VI. Bibliographical Series, Vol. I. Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879. Revised and enlarged edition. Edited by Franklin William Scott. CIV and 610 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1910.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VII. Executive Series, Vol. II. Governors' Letter Books, 1840-1853. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Charles Manfred Thompson. CXVIII and 469 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1911.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VIII. Virginia Series, Vol. III. George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781. Edited with introduction and notes by James Alton James. CLXVII and 715 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1912.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IX. Bibliographical Series, Vol. II. Travel and Description, 1765-1865. By Solon Justus Buck. 514 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1914.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. X. British Series, Vol. I. The Critical Period, 1763-1765. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. LVII and 597 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1915.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XI. British Series, Vol. II. The New Regime, 1765-1767. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. XXVIII and 700 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1916.

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*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XV. Biographical Series, Vol. I, Governor Edward Coles by Elihu B. Washburne. Reprint with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord. 435 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1920.

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Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVII. Law Series, Vol. I. Laws of the Northwest Territory, 1788-1800. Edited with introduction and notes by Theodore Calvin Pease. XXXVI and 591 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1925.

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Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIX. Virginia Series, Vol. IV. George Rogers Clark Papers, 1781-1784. Edited with introduction and notes by James Alton James, Ph. D., LL. D., LXV and 572 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1926.

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*Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I, No. 1, September, 1905. Illinois in the Eighteenth Century. By Clarence Walworth Alvord, 38 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1905.

*Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I, No. 2, June 1, 1906. Laws of the Territory of Illinois, 1809-1811. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord, 34 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1906.

*Circular Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I, No. 1, November, 1905. An Outline for the Study of Illinois State History. Compiled by Jessie Palmer Weber and Georgia L. Osborne. 94 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1905.

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